



THE
ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIETY
IN
KNOWLEDGE AND RELIGION.

(of Parker)
BY JAMES DOUGLAS, Esq.
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1830.

From the Rev. Professor Goodrich, of Yale College, and the Rev. Mr. Bacon,
of New Haven.

“In the preceding recommendation, we entirely concur.”

CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH,
LEONARD BACON.

New Haven, Sept. 13, 1830.

From the Rev. Dr. Humphrey, President of Amherst College, Mass.

“Having had some opportunity to examine Mr. Douglas’s book, I concur with the Professors at Princeton, in the above recommendation.”

H. HUMPHREY.

Amherst College, Sept. 29, 1830.

From the Rev. Dr. Mathews, Pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, in the
city of New York.

“Mr. Douglas’s ‘Hints on Missions,’ proved him to be a man of extraordinary mind ; and his later labours confirm his claim to that character. He shows himself well acquainted with History, Philosophy, and Religion ; and the results to which he leads his readers, do him credit as a scholar and a Christian. It is but seldom that we meet with a writer so deeply imbued with a spirit of philanthropy, and whose views are, at the same time, so co-extensive with the intellectual and moral wants of the world. The publishers of the present volume have done a valuable service to the community, by issuing it from the American press.”

J. M. MATHEWS.

New York, Sept. 2d, 1830.

From the Rev. A. Potter, Rector of St. Paul’s Church, Boston, to the Publishers.

“Gentlemen,—I have to thank you for a copy of the work of Mr. Douglas, recently published at your press.

I had some previous acquaintance with its merits, but feel grateful for any circumstance which has served to recall it to my attention. Among the various works devoted to this subject, I have seen none so well adapted to the present state of the world, nor any breathing a more enlarged, enlightened and philanthropic spirit. There are points, certainly, to which exception may be taken, but it seems to me no less certain that few persons can peruse it without receiving a new impulse to benevolent exertion, and having new conceptions of the means and end of such exertions. I earnestly hope that the work may have, especially among the Directors of our literary and religious institutions, an extensive circulation."

A. POTTER.

Boston, Oct. 1st, 1830.

From the Rev. J. Wheeler, of Windsor, Vermont.

Mr. Wheeler was favoured, while in Scotland, with a personal acquaintance with Mr. Douglas, at his residence, about forty miles from Edinburgh.

"Mr. Douglas possesses unusual originality, independence, and comprehensiveness of mind, and is considered by his acquaintance as a man of vast knowledge. In his work on 'The Advancement of Society,' there is a combination of thought, the materials of which, gathered from the whole field of learning, display a singularly various and intimate acquaintance with books, and a power to collect their scattered rays of light, and bring them to a focus, which may serve to conduct us onward to important results. These traits of mind are fed by a deep fountain of wide-spreading benevolence, which is kept in constant exercise by the great truths of Redemption. He delights in high and blissful hopes concerning the

human race, without forgetting the moral obstacles in the way, or shrinking from their frowning magnitude. The habits of his life are formed very much in reference to the controlling power of his piety, and the peculiarity of his mind, living with unusual freedom from ostentation for one of his extensive landed estate, and ancestral connections. He studies religious subjects because he loves them, and delights in the elevated and peaceful character they produce ; and is much interested in the extension of *some form of religious instruction more thoroughly Biblical than is now common.*"

J. WHEELER.

Windsor, Vt. Sept. 3d, 1830.

From the Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, late Principal of the American Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb.

No one can read the writings of Douglas, without feeling that he is in the presence of a *Master Spirit* of the age. A devout disciple of Jesus Christ, he adds another triumph to the glories of the Cross, and infidelity itself must acknowledge that the humbling doctrines of the gospel, ruling the heart and directing the conduct, may be cherished by a mind that genius, taste, literature, science and philosophy, all contribute to refine, to elevate, and to adorn.

In this point of view, if in no other, the work of Douglas on "The Advancement of Society in Knowledge and Religion," deserves an extensive patronage in this country. It is peculiarly adapted to that class of readers, who, with some sceptical doubts with regard to the truth of Revelation, have contracted a fastidious disgust of its doctrines and precepts, as if they could exist only in the breasts of the timid and the abject, and produce in the mind and the

life nothing but what is low and contemptible. The very pages of Douglas prove that the contrary of all this is true, and that the Christian, in his studies, his hopes, his wishes, his pursuits, his labours, his enterprises, his projects,—has before him objects of thought, of affection, and of effort (*even in this world*, in connection with the domestic circle, with civil society, with the political institutions of his own and other countries, and with the great interests of mankind,) which are stamped with every essential characteristic of intellectual and moral sublimity and beauty.

What a glorious and cheering light is shed by the Gospel on the destinies of our world ! In this light, look down the vista of futurity, as drawn by the pencil of our Author, and compare it with the fantastic dreams in which free-thinking philosophers have indulged, and with the visionary prospective which they have essayed to sketch of the triumph of human reason, and of the perfectability of human nature ! What a contrast, and how honorable to Christianity !

The lofty thought, the manly freedom, the true republican spirit, the utter abhorrence of all that is inconsistent with the proper rights of man, the rejection of any, the least, dependence on *the power of the State*, for the advancement and support of religion, the admiration of our ~~own~~ political institutions, the affection exhibited towards our country, the anticipations of its increasing prosperity and ability to become, among the nations, the great Exemplar of what a nation ought *to be* and *to do* ; all these striking characteristics of Douglas, together with his truly finished, eloquent, and often impassioned style,—his wonderful powers of generalization,—his *prophetic views*,

(visionary as some of them may appear to be, yet many of them, hereafter to receive the sanction of a literal fulfilment,) his mastery over the mind of the reader, kindling new trains of thought, and anticipations of hope, and breathings of charity, and projects of doing good, and the plans and the means of their accomplishment :—these recommend the work not only to the attentive perusal, but to the diligent study, of all who feel for the prosperity of their country, for the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom, and for the welfare of their fellow men.

T. H. GALLAUDET.

Hartford, Oct. 13th, 1830.

CONTENTS.

PART FIRST.

THE PAST.

	Page
1. Progress of Society.—2. Opinions of the Ancients.— 3. Defect of Materials.—4. Early condition of Man- kind.—5. First Monarchies.—6. Grecian Republics.— 7. Rome.—8. Saracens.—9. Gothic Race.—10. Mod- ern Europe.—11. Summary.—12. Defect of Terms.— 13. Complex Movement of Society.—14. Advancement not Necessary but Providential.—15. Ancient and Mod- ern Action of Society.—16. Removal of Impediments. —17. New Social Order in America.—18. Conclusion.	5

PART SECOND.

THE FUTURE.

1. New Era of Society.—2. Voluntary Association.— 3. Supplies the Prima Philosophia.—4. Objections to it. —5. The Survey of Science.—6. Review of the Past. —7. Scientific Travellers.—8. General Correspondence. —9. Improved Elements or Science.—10. Improved Method of Science.—11. Improvement of the Arts.— 12. Improvement of Life.—13. General Society.— 14. Its Influence over Government —15. Its Influence over Europe.—16. Advantages of Science to Religion. 17. Advantages of Religion to Science.	74
---	----

PART THIRD.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION AT HOME.

1. Difference in the Condition of Jews and Christians.— 2. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Latter.—	136
--	-----

3. Utility of Association.—4. Best Form of Society.—
 5. District Division.—6. General Correspondence.—
 7. Newspapers.—8. Reviews.—9. Schools.—10. Li-
 braries.—11. Home Missions.—12. Bible Society.—
 13. Advancement of Religion at Home and Abroad,
 mutual.

PART FOURTH.

ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION ABROAD.

1. Map of the World.—2. Rise of False Religions.— 182
 3. Nominal Christendom.—4. Mohammedan Countries.
 —5. Eastern Asia.—6. Central Africa.—7. The Jews.
 —8. Christianity Universal.—9. England the Centre
 of Action.—10. System.—11. Economy.—12. Super-
 intendence.—13. Native Agency.—14. Education.—
 15. English Language.—16. Translations.—17. Colo-
 nies.—18 Conclusion.

PART FIFTH.

TENDENCY OF THE AGE.

1. Voluntary and Involuntary Changes.—2. Philosophy 272
 of Charity.—3. Augmented Power of Moral Instru-
 ments.—4. Increasing Improvement of Society.—5. Im-
 provement of Governments.—6. Revolution in Opinion.
 —7. Classic Republics.—8. Gothic Kingdoms.—9. Uni-
 versal Form.—10. Public Opinion.—11. Europe.—
 12. America.—13. Universal Prevalence of Religion
 and Knowledge.

- NOTES, 297

ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIETY
IN
KNOWLEDGE AND RELIGION.

PART FIRST.

PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

I. "ONE generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever." Is the change in its generations the only change in society? Are the actors alone renewed, and the same drama of life for ever repeated? Or does each succeeding generation, standing on the grave of their forefathers, rise to a higher vantage ground, as the oaks of the wilderness in succession strike deeper roots, and grow more flourishing, over the dust of their predecessors?

It is not many ages since Hakewell wrote his learned Apology, to show that the moderns were not left so destitute either of hope or of providence, as utterly to despair of emulating the ancients. Still shorter is the interval, since Milton had his misgivings as to the coldness of the climate, and lateness of the age for an epic poem, though in this there is more than meets the general ear.

Now, the tide has set in with an opposite current, and "the present enlightened age" regards itself with as much self-complacency, and the past with as much contempt, as if, like Love in Aristophanes, it had been hatched from the egg of Night, and all of a sudden had spread its radiant wings over the primeval darkness.

OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENTS.

II. The ancients, as they are beforehand with the moderns in most of their disputes, rival them also in the discrepancy of their tenets upon this head; for of the three opinions respecting society, that it is progressive, stationary, or retrograde, each was defended and illustrated by some powerful sect of philosophy.

That society is retrograde was always the favourite and most prevalent side of the question; the creeds of all nations teem with recollections of men having fallen from a higher state of felicity, of earth being blended with heaven, and of that golden age, when humanity lived near to the gods, and held frequent and familiar converse with the immortals. This opinion may be styled the mythological, since it is interwoven with the recollections of the remotest antiquity, blended with the light of the heroic and fabulous ages, and wrought into all the various fictions which diversify the legends of polytheism. It is carried to the greatest height in the Hindoo writings, but more or less it has prevailed among all nations, and has

been handed down with an increase of conviction and fresh arguments, from the respect which learners bear to their teachers,—stamped with the reverence which the Grecians paid to their Egyptian masters,—the Romans to the Grecians,—and the middle ages to the Romans.

The opinion which advocates the advancement of society, received its origin, or its strength, from the recorded rise of the Grecian States, and the broken traces of their ancient history, and may therefore be termed the historical; it rests on the tradition of the ancient inhabitants having been tamed by Orpheus, and the other tuneful legislators of Greece, and reclaimed from the condition of savages among the woods, and from a subsistence upon acorns, to a social existence, under laws, and in cities: this opinion received new support from a second source,—the Atomic Philosophy, which, as it deduced the intelligence of each individual from the sum and record of his past impressions, so it deduced the national mind from the experience of the individuals who composed it; discarding at once the inspiration of the early ages, and their higher illumination.

That society is stationary, may be termed the Atheistical Opinion, since it upheld the eternity of the species on the same grounds on which it upheld the eternity of the world; for observing that what once was sea had become dry land, and that the earth in return was gradually swallowed up by the waves, it concluded that the continent and the

ocean were interchangeably destroyed and reproduced, and that the parts of the great system alone were fluctuating, while the whole remained fixed and for ever. Corresponding to these apparent changes, and this real stability of nature, it observed new wonders of art rising to perfection in one quarter, compensating, and only compensating, for the decay of equally numerous and admirable monuments in another, and thence concluded that the sciences, ever seeking for new worshippers, rather changed their abodes, than received any accession to the number of their temples. Thus binding alike the natural and the moral world in the same iron chain of necessity, it viewed all the movements of the universe as alternating between fixed and narrow limits of progress and decay, and repeating the same rounds through the endless lapse of time.

These three opinions, which might appear to exhaust the subject, are severally insufficient, for the movement of society is too complicated to be solved by a single principle; however varying and opposite, they are all partially founded in truth, and all, taken in their utmost extent, and viewed separately, lead to error. At one and the same time there is a progressive, stationary, and retrograde tendency in society, as shall afterwards be pointed out, and also within what limits each tendency exerts itself.

DEFECT OF MATERIALS.

III. There is no good history of the progress of society. The sketch of Condorcet is undeserving of minute examination. Some valuable thoughts were furnished from the conversation or writings of Turgot, but exaggerated to support an untenable theory. The work of Condorcet is the image of his mind—vast and vague—feeble yet aspiring—containing some noble views amid a mass of misrepresentations, discoloured by a hatred of all religion verging upon insanity—undervaluing, from ignorance, the past, and shaping to its own impracticable wishes the clouds of futurity. (A.)

We have not even the rude materials for such a work, either in an exact or complete history of the particular branches of science, of the origin of languages, or of the state of the ancient world. Literary history, though recommended by Bacon, has made small progress, except among the disciples of Kant; and they are either systematic or visionary; seeing every thing in antiquity through the mist of some recent theory, reversing the miracle of tongues, and making men of every age and clime speak with a truly Teutonic accent; or when freed from system, caught by remote resemblances, and puerile or monstrous analogies, and too frequently preferring the weaker evidence to the stronger, as leading to the conclusion the most likely to elevate and surprise. (B.)

Extremes meet, and etymology, where of all studies the evidence is the weakest, and mathematics, where it is the strongest, seem alike to unfit their followers for balancing opposing probabilities, yet the want of a rational work on the origin and connexion of languages is necessary to be supplied before a complete account of the progress in society can be obtained. (C.)

Ancient history, on the other hand, has either been received in gross, or totally rejected, and the art has not yet been discovered of separating its ore from its dross, the fragments of truth from the load of fables which conceal them.

The chronology of the earliest nations is dilated into an enormous and impossible antiquity, while heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, and other equally real personages, live and reign for long astronomical periods, over happy and prosperous nations, and the train of these figurative sovereigns is increased by the artifice of making the contemporaneous kings who reigned at the same time, in the same country, before it was formed into one empire, follow each other in a long line of successive dynasties. (D.)

To this chronological list of names, in the oblivion of the real events of history, were appended the traditions current among the vulgar; narrative too far transformed into fable to be again easily recognised in its just lineaments; romantic, improbable, or ludicrous, as the wonder, misconception, or buffoonery of the narrators prevailed. Such

are the accounts which Herodotus has transmitted respecting the monarchies of Egypt and the East, vague and distorted rumours of past events preserving, indeed, an air of truth for three or four generations backwards, and then lost in an inextricable labyrinth: less trust-worthy records than the songs of pensioned and flattering bards, and bearing the same relation to real characters and actions, that the tales of the Arabian Nights do to the History of Haroun Alraschid.

The difficulties attending the varying accounts of the elder Cyrus, together with the opportunities of information which the Greeks possessed, and the interest which they had in the affairs of Persia, sufficiently indicate how unsafe a guide profane history is, when it attempts to follow tradition beyond the limits of a few generations.

EARLY CONDITION OF MANKIND.

IV. Amid the obscurity of these fables and inconsistencies, the books of Moses shed a solitary light; and, independent of the arguments for their inspiration, carry with them internal evidence of their authenticity, and of their containing within their brief notices, all that can be known of the earliest condition of man.

The Mosaic records secure us from an error into which philosophers, who trust more to their own conjectures than to the Bible, have generally fallen. It is requisite for clearness and precision to reduce every thing to its simplest elements, and from its

least modified state, to enumerate the changes it undergoes, and the additions it receives. But what is allowable in a work of which the sole aim is simplicity, may be very erroneous when considered as matter of fact. And though, in a treatise which accommodates itself to an arbitrary method, and not to the truth of events, mankind may be represented as passing from the occupation of hunters to that of shepherds, and then from pasturage to tillage, and a life in cities, yet the error is great, if we mistake the process of our own minds for the progress of the human race, and imagine that men must first have existed as savages, because the savage state stands at the head of our own artificial system.

And yet this misapprehension is the sole support of a theory which is alike refuted by the evidence of revelation, and by the situation of the ancient world. From the sea of China to the German ocean, tribes, too rude to have tamed the wild animals for their own use, were in possession of domestic cattle ; and beyond the bounds of civilization the pastoral state alike prevailed in Asia, Africa, and Europe. The only exceptions strengthen the general rule : some hunters, scattered over ranges of mountains ; some fishers, amid wide intersecting lakes, or some tribes deprived of their cattle by the severity of the climate towards the Icy Sea. In this respect, the new world is contrasted with the old, and in this very contrast affords an additional proof that the pastoral state has preceded

the savage, since its savage inhabitants, with the strong marks of their Scythian descent, will be generally allowed to have sprung from a race in possession of numerous herds, and the only assignable cause of the difference between the hunters of America and their pastoral ancestors of Upper Asia, is the intervening sea, with the want of barks of sufficient burden to transport their cattle.

The appearances of society, over both the old and the new continent, exactly tally with the effects which must have resulted from the dispersion of mankind, as described by Moses ; a dispersion which took place after a common sojourn, for a length of years, in a country favourable for the increase of their flocks ; and after having had long access to the arts and knowledge of a still earlier race, by the long lives of the patriarchs, who formed a connecting link between the antediluvian and postdiluvian world. The light, which spread over the earth, may be traced to the plains of Babylon as its centre, and the barbarism and the depression of the different tribes of men is shaded more deeply, according to their distance from the parent seats of mankind, and the difficulties of their journey.

It is from this one fount of emanation that the first vestiges of thought and improvement are derived, which are common to all nations and languages ; and which have been assigned, even by infidel philosophers, to one primitive race, the stock whence the many families of the earth have sprung ; who have left behind them resemblances and affini-

ties in the remotest languages and recollections, however disguised by fable and mythology, which refer to a period when all the earth had one common history and interest.

Thus the time which elapsed between the deluge and the dispersion of mankind, must be looked upon as the first period of civilization. No doubt, owing to the early invention of arts among the descendants of Cain, and the long life of the antediluvians, so favourable to the cultivation of science, great advances would be made, and commanding heights of knowledge would be reached, by men, who could not complain, like Theophrastus, that nature had denied them that length of days for cultivating their reason, which she bestowed upon many irrational animals; but it is not by the mass of knowledge that existed before the deluge, but by the remnants that were preserved in the ark, that aftertimes have been affected and benefited. To form some conception of the change which ancient science would undergo in the hands of the postdiluvians, we may imagine what would be the fate of a varied and copious language, which, after abounding in works of every character, came to exist only in the speech of few individuals; how the additions by which it had been enriched would fall into disuse, and the language itself would return to its first rudiments and primitive simplicity, while the derivatives would occasionally remain, and the roots from which they had sprung be forgotten. The same would it fare with science, re-

duced to the same circumstances, the higher and more speculative parts would be forgotten, the application might be retained without the principle, and the elements might rest behind as witnesses of the perfection to which knowledge had been brought, and of the advanced state of the sciences from which they had been separated.

Possessed of the relics of ancient language and of ancient knowledge, a new population rapidly multiplied in the land where nature had planted the olive and Noah the vine, and wandered, with their increasing flocks, beneath that serene sky where the stars were first classed into constellations, without fixed habitation in the country of their transient pilgrimage, previous to their spreading anew the tide of life over the dispeopled earth, and rearing in the wilderness once more the dwellings of men.

It is this period of universal intercommunity which has given an indissoluble bond of connection to the far scattered family of man, and irresistibly carries back whatever holds of high antiquity to the common origin of the species. Among the remotest races, dissevered by vast ages and unnavigated oceans, fragments of language, tradition, and opinion are found, which piece in together, and when united with every remnant from every distant region, almost recompose that body of transmitted recollections, which, surviving an earlier civilization, and an almost universal catastrophe, was separated and dispersed over the earth, by the separation and dispersion of mankind.

FIRST MONARCHIES.

V. A second period of advancement in civilization was that of the early monarchies. Egypt, Chaldea, India, and China, have each pretensions to superior antiquity, and a claim to invention ; and the claim of each may be allowed. Their common nature and common origin sufficiently account for coincidences which have too hastily been judged certain marks of imitation. Yet if the question were still urged, what country had the best claim to the highest antiquity, that honour might be allowed to Egypt. It is certain mankind never adopt improvements, much less invent them, without the pressure of an immediate want, and a ready facility of removing it. Where the chase is abundant, and the supply of game sure, no tribe of hunters will ever be at the labour, or use the foresight of rearing animals tame, and providing a domestic stock. Where the pastoral country is sufficient for the unlimited increase of their cattle, no tribe of herdsmen will ever make agriculture an object of first-rate importance. And thus, at every step of their progress, men are goaded forward by their wants, and incited and allured by the prospect of supply. It will be readily admitted, that Egypt is the country where these wants would be soonest felt in succession, and most easily removed. Even had the first inhabitants been savages, the vale of the Nile is so narrow, that the beasts of chase would be quickly thinned, and animals for domestic pur-

poses caught and tamed. The habitable country being extremely limited in extent, agriculture would soonest be thought of, and most easily practised, since the Nile itself does the work of the plough and the harrow, manures the ground, covers the seed, and leaves but the work of harvest for the husbandmen, and is the true Ceres and Triptolemus of antiquity, the first indicator of culture, the inventor of tillage, and the bestower of corn. It is there also that men, from the nature of the country, must first have lived in towns, crowded upon the few elevated spots which were superior to the inundation of the Nile, and which, rising like so many cities from the waves, reminded the early Grecian traveller of his native islands amid the Egean sea. Hence also the Nile, by leaving a water communication alone between the different towns, made the Egyptians the earliest sailors ; and the barks, which opened to them the only path to the neighbouring cities, found, by following the course of the river, an easy entrance into the Mediterranean sea ; and though, after their early discoveries and colonies, this art amongst them altogether declined, and passed to another nation ; yet the Phœnicians, as they had the first hint of an alphabet in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, so they saw the earliest navy, in the vessels, which with a full sail, and a north wind were ascending the stream, and in return, gently floating down the current of the Nile.

The priority of Egyptian civilization to that of the Indians, might be evinced either from ancient

history, or from ancient monuments ; from the direction of the earliest commerce, or the planting of the earliest colonies. (E.)

The prior antiquity of India rests upon the suspicions and partial authority of its own writings, themselves of suspected antiquity. The antiquity of Egypt is vouched for by the oldest authenticated writers extant, the Hebrews and the Greeks. Again, there are no monuments in Egypt which need the explanation of having been reared by Indian architects ; though there are remains in India which appear to indicate an African origin. It may be added that the monuments of Egypt alone are covered with hieroglyphics, which carry them back to an age, and a literature anterior to the invention of alphabetic characters. Ancient commerce was founded upon the riches of India, and the wants of the West. Egypt held out no inducement to the Hindoos to emigrate ; its narrow valley was soon filled with population, and was surrounded by forbidding deserts ; but the wide, and to the ancients, interminable regions of India, with the romantic fables of wealth and wonder attached to them, might easily have induced Egyptian emigrants to leave the scorched and barren shores of the Red Sea, and embark in some of those fleets which were ever steering towards the treasures of the East. With respect to colonies, those which proceeded from India, and have been scattered over the islands of the Indian Ocean, cannot compare either in antiquity or celebrity with those of the

Egyptians who commenced the civilization of Greece previous to the period of written history. All this might be proved at length, but this proof is not necessary; we should consider as equally in error those who would borrow the civilization of the Egyptians from the Indians, or those who, on the other hand, would make the Egyptians the instructors of the Indians in the arts and sciences. It was not imitation, but a native impulse, and the concurrence of the same favourable circumstances, which, across the most fertile zone of the earth, and from the shores of the Yellow Sea to the Mediterranean, spread a wide and prosperous civilization. Along the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, the Indus and the Ganges, and the great Chinese rivers, the nations entered upon a new career, and undertakings were formed, and works executed, of a vastness which throws a shade upon the wonders of following ages. It was there that the productions most necessary to existence, which have from thence been carried into distant countries, and cultivated with so much labour, grew spontaneously, where bread corn sprang up like the grass of the field, and the earth, in emulation of the golden age, and with the fertility of the fabled islands of the west, poured forth unbidden food, and renewed a perpetual banquet. It was there that the pastoral tribes changed without effort their manner of life, and with nature for their example and instructress, cultivated the fruits of the earth which already grew so freely around them, into a greater abundance, and reared

as if by enchantment cities which, like Babylon, rebuilt by the Assyrian for his tributary allies the Chaldeans, received whole nations within their ample walls, and contained and subsisted within their ramparted gardens, the population which had been previously spread over the waste of the desert.

The policy and civilization of these nations was gigantic, and disproportionate, their aim was vastness, and their means violence; the colossal piles of their towers and walls were reared by slaves; and these slaves were the vanquished nations, torn up by the roots, and transplanted entire into countries scarcely known to them by report. Compared to their works, the buildings of the Romans, who possessed a wider empire and enlarged science, appear like the edifices of individuals, eclipsed by the efforts of kings. Our wonder increases the more we consider the only remaining witnesses of their power and skill, the masses of mighty ruins, or those fabrics which, still enduring, promise to co-exist with the earth itself; regarding these, we must confess them to have been the master builders of the world, and that their structures are as astonishing as if the dreams of oriental romance had been realized, and the genii of the elements had been tasked to super-human exertion by the seal of Solomon, or the talisman of the pre-Adamite kings.

The resources for such undertakings existed in the wealth possessed by the first conquerors.—Riches in modern times are diffused through society, and, being nowhere gathered into such a heap

as to inspire their possessor with the hope of any unusual accomplishment, are spent in elaborate trifles, and perishing gratifications, luxury draining away into numberless channels, the treasures which were in those days exhausted upon some abiding monument, which, previous to the invention of letters, and in the absence of other records, was intended to keep the name of the erector, and to perpetuate his memory. The ancient method of war, as it swept along with it the wealth and the population of every conquered country, furnished hands for these works in the enslaved inhabitants and funds in their plundered property. In Egypt, on the other hand, which long enjoyed uninterrupted peace, a standing host of labourers was not more wasteful to the state than a standing army; the magnitude and magnificence of what was public, was grounded upon the meanness of what was private, and the pyramids fitted, according to the intention of their authors, to resist the waste of time, and to await the expected revolution of nature, and the new and recommencing series of existence, were built by dwellers in houses of clay, which were crushed before the moth.

The acquisition of their knowledge, like the fabric of their dominion, was forced into a premature vigour, and an ill-proportioned greatness; and became fixed in the inveteracy of established customs and hereditary professions. While on the way to knowledge they turned aside to its imaginary semblance; with them science throughout was infected

with superstition, and the corruption of knowledge more valued than knowledge itself; arithmetic was cultivated less for the utility of figures than for the sake of the magical powers attributed to numbers; and the changes in the heavenly bodies were observed as being casual or predictive of the changes in earthly things.

Very different was the fate of this early civilization to the east and the west of the Indus. It is preserved entire in India and China, which remain such as they were, at the same point of civilization to which they were carried by an impulse given them three thousand years ago, with science still elementary, and still enslaved to superstition, worshipping the same idols with the same rites, venerating the same works, and thinking in the same prescribed form of thought. But westward of the Indus that ancient mode of manners gave way to a new advancement in knowledge, and was scattered before the arms of Alexander and the arts of Greece. The observations made by the Chaldees of the heavens, like their observatory, the tower of Belus sunk into dust and forgetfulness, and the secrets of Egyptian invention perished with the priesthood, to whom they were confined. But the elements which were restricted to a prescriptive form, or a superstitious use, by the shackles of caste and of priesthood, were wrought by the genius of a free country, into every variety of fashion, and those seeds of improvement which had been

checked in their growth in the east, became fruitful and luxuriant in another climate.

GRECIAN REPUBLICS.

VI. A third period of civilization is the Grecian, and the most difficult problem in history is to account for its originality and its brilliancy; how it came to differ so widely from that of Egypt and Phœnicia from which it sprang; and why the causes that conferred upon it an unrivalled excellency, never conspired to exalt any other country to an equal eminence. (F.)

It is in the history of nations as in the history of individuals; their commencement and their weakness are passed over in silence; and it is that very weakness which gives power to circumstances to form their character, and to impress upon them that bias which becomes their destiny. We know not the birth or growth of the Grecian states; we know nothing of them till they were matured into fulness of strength, till their language was the most harmonious, and their poetry the most powerful that ever existed. All that relates to Greece lies hid in darkness till Homer effulges, like the new created light upon the world—a sun without a dawn.

If, however, in the midst of this obscurity we were called to account for the height of Grecian genius, we would seek its cause, not in one or two circumstances, but in the multiplicity of favourable coincidences, each wafting it, as by wave after wave, along the brightness of its way; and we

would seek it, not only in the multiplicity, but in the harmony of those many combining influences, where nothing was jarring, but all united into one impulse, and towards one end.

The first element of national character is the nature of the country, which acts previously to all other influences, and is moulding the mind before the legislator can form his institutions. This has been termed the influence of climate, but incorrectly, since the configuration of the land must be taken into account, as well as the temperature of the air. Doubtless, the country of Greece had an eminent influence upon the genius of Greece. All the advantages which are possessed by Europe in the variety and subdivision of its parts, which prevent it from being swallowed up in one immense empire, and constitute its different peoples distinct nations, with a common national character, in opposition to the empires of Asia, made up of mere masses of men who have little in common except the coercion of the same despot; all these advantages were united in Greece, which possessed the concentrated essence of the peculiarities of Europe: more intensely European than Europe itself, and the Archipelago more Mediterranean than the sea of which it is a branch. That mild and beautiful sea which allured the first mariners to spread their sails over its calm and lake-like waters, by the facilities which it afforded to commerce and intercourse, diffused along its shores the knowledge, with the wealth, of the older monarchies; and as the great

rivers had been the seat of eastern civilization, so the coasts of the Mediterranean gave birth to the new and higher progress of the west. But Greece, which is all coast, so indented is it with the sea, and so immediately do its narrow valleys open out upon the waves, received upon all its borders the fulness of that tide of improvement which was rising from Tyre to Tarshish, and from Phœnicia to the Atlantic. Its soil, varied of hill and dale, was among the finest of the world, constituting a country rich without profusion, rich in opposition to the poverty of the northern nations which reduced them for ages to a conflict for existence with overgrown forests and a tempestuous sky, yet without that spontaneous profusion which, supplying the first necessities of many tropical nations, has prevented them from feeling those wants which are the result and the impulse of an advancing state of society. And its climate was the most genial of the temperate zone, fervid from its southern site, yet refreshed by alternate breezes from the mountains and the sea, with a sky filled with light, yet variegated with the sudden clouds of mountainous and insular regions.

The first moral influence which arose from this happy aspect of the material world was, the passion among the Greeks for form and beauty. If humanity had its zones assigned to it as well as the world which it inhabits, then the latitude of Greece might be esteemed the clime and peculiar residence of the beautiful. In the north, the moral sublime predominates, or the struggle of man with nature ; in the

south, the sublime of the infinite, where languid with the ardour, and lost in the immensity of nature, he gives up the contest, and seeks for absorption in the victor. But in the mild and middle regions, between these extremes, the mind at peace and in harmony, reposes itself upon nature, and is diffused in love and admiration over the fair face of creation. The climate of Greece seemed fitted for the well being of humanity, where the common air was attempered to delight, and the soul imbibed the same sunny hues as the landscape ; where life, careless and unlaborious, bore the image of a happier time, and man, with the blood of the heroic race still warm in his veins, lived to high passions, and infinite aspirations, above the every-day wants that beset and vilify mortality.

“ They were halcyon days of the world, the days of Greece and her heroes.

“ There has been no sunshine so bright since, nor that balminess shed through the air ;

“ Men have lost the secret of life—of living in union with nature.

“ And hence the nectar of life much seldomer moistens their lip.

“ Oh, when shall we see again Greece and her deified heroes !

“ When that tide of life that flowed so noble and free ;

“ The half-wakened sleepers of marble, the statues of gods, and the godlike,

“ Alone reflect the past, and retain the celestial likeness,

“ The calm and immortal beauty, the deep and unending repose.”

The languages of the north, it has been observed, are those of want, the languages of the south those of pleasure ; the civilization of each took the same bent—that of the northern nations was, to ward off inconveniences, that of the southern nations tended directly to enjoyment ; the first sought a shelter in secure recesses from the inclemency of the sky, the

other admitted the sun and air into their temples and dwellings, and their whole life was transacted amid the freshness of nature and in the eye of Heaven. The plastic and presiding spirit of symmetry shed its influence over the services of religion and the minutest details of ordinary occupation—over the proportions of their temples, and the shapes of their commonest utensils; and the pitcher which was to bring water from the spring was worthy, in its form, of a fountain consecrated to the Naiads.

This passion for the beautiful gave to the Greeks a more brilliant mythology, made them reject the monster gods of Egypt, and incline to anthropomorphism. Thus men, beholding their own likeness in the objects they worshipped, derived new dignity from their deified images, and human nature itself received an apotheosis when raised to tread the summits and to breathe the air of Olympus: and in return, the gods, from their resemblance to man, seemed to their votaries to possess more of the milk of human kindness and sympathy than the brutish shapes of the east.

A new influence arose in their passion for music, taking the word in their own enlarged sense, as embracing the range of the fine arts, and whatever entered into the service of the muses. In this sense it is no fable to say, that the Grecian tribes were humanized by music, and that the walls of their cities were reared by the songs of their poets. So essentially was it interwoven with their

social life and civil institutions, that they made the study of it synonymous and coincident with civilization; and it is equally true, that those among their tribes who were ignorant of music, and averse to it, remained barbarians, and had small share in the manners and attainments of their countrymen.

Their music was only the just and outward expression of that internal harmony which dwells in minds peopled with all the images of beauty; its very simplicity was in its favour; it did not consist of difficulties, purposely raised that they may be ingeniously solved, but was in its proper place—married to immortal verse; and while the poetry kept it from running away into an unmeaning intricacy of sounds, it was to the poetry a perpetual breath of inspiration; and, over and above, it moulded the primitive and flexible language of Greece into its own nature, till it became plastic and ethereal like itself, so as, at every pulse, to swell and undulate into the waves of song.

From the passion for poetry and music proceeded the power of the poets in moulding the national character, and also their numbers, each prince and chief having a bard, and holding him in honour. During the heroic times, the influence of the bards was spread over the whole of life; their songs accompanied the service of the gods, and the ceremony of the feast; formed the education of the young, and animated the older to battle. The only parallel to this is found among the Celts, and the deeply poetical sensibility it has given to that race, is

still manifest and extant in their character, in their music, and in the fragments of their poetry. The poetry of other nations is more confined to their own language, and finds it hard to clear the bounds of their country ; but Celtic poetry, as well as the Grecian, speaks a language universal as music, is a denizen of every region, and intelligible to every heart. The Greeks, however, had advantages over the Celts ; their bards were less fettered than the Druids—not constituting an order, they were free from control, and yet were as sacred, being esteemed the priests of the muses.

In the early times of Greece, before writings were common, their religion and their literature were embodied in music, and their history was entrusted to the harp, and passed from age to age upon the wings of song. Even the rudest of their warriors filled up with the verses of ancient feuds the pauses of battle, and only resigned the lance for the lyre.

An influence, highly favourable to the Grecian states, consisted in their internationality. Greece, indented and mountainous, was severed into many states, but all peopled by one primitive race, speaking the same primitive language. In its many states advancing together in the career of civilization, it resembled modern Europe ; but the intercommunion between them was far more intimate and effectual, from their lying within a smaller compass, and from their speaking the same language ; yet not merely one language, but rather many dialects,

which had each its peculiar excellence, and left untouched the originality of the rest. A faint example of the advantage of this may be found in the Scotch verses of Burns, which had all the freshness of youth when the contemporary English writings bore strong marks of the decay of age. This variety of dialects not only gave a freshness and originality to the poetry of the different states of Greece, but allowed the riches of all to be transfused into each, without the strangeness of thoughts, which, when translated, are seldom more than half naturalized, and exempt from the loss which a difference of idiom inevitably occasions. From these multiplied sources of abundance arose the copiousness of Grecian genius and literature; and hence proceeded many of the advantages which Homer possessed over other poets. The seeds of poetry are the events of dark ages, increased by tradition, and expanding with the growing imagination of men, who are passing from obscurity into light. These traditions, after receiving the colour of the popular fancy, in their second stage, are moulded by the imagination of the earliest and often forgotten bards; and after this comes the season favourable for the appearance of a great genius, who has every thing prepared for his advent in the workings of the popular mind, and in the efforts of his ruder predecessors: and who, by giving to the materials already existing their third and finished form, appropriates them for ever, and perpetuates their glory and his own. Such was

Homer, who, like his own Ulysses surveying many men and many cities, was enabled to collect the popular poetry of his country,—poetry more varied from the moral situation of Greece than ever existed before or after, and filled the inexhausted stream of his inspiration from a hundred springs.—It is not wonderful that works which were enriched from such various sources, should in their turn be a fresh source of endless variety, and that the diversified forms of poetry should be traced to Homer, as all the prismatic colours are refracted from the light of the sun.

The narrow bounds of each state made the pressure of over-population quickly felt, and Grecian colonies were early spread over the shores of the Mediterranean. These opened out a prospect of distant lands to the bards and minds of Greece, and gave them a varied scene, presenting nature under new aspects, and life with other manners. The wandering and adventurous spirit which was fostered by the precarious intercourse between the colonies and the mother country, lent its own romantic character to every region that was visited, and each colony contributed its additional and peculiar store to the national marvels. Egypt and its wonders had from the first excited astonishment; and its achievements, which were really marvellous, became still more so when beheld enlarged through the dimness of distance and time. The world owes no small share of its fables to the earliest sailors, to whom every port presented a paradise, and every storm

preternatural horrors. The mendacity and the superstition of the Phœnicians furnished to the Greeks the first outlines of Elysium and Hades, in those meadows enamelled with flowers which receive them weary from the waves, and in those volcanic mountains, smoking with infernal, and as they believed, penal fires. The difficult navigation of the Euxine Sea, the dangerous sands of Lybia, the fertile or fire-worn tracts of southern Italy, and the flowery pastures of Sicily, were all fairy land to the Greeks, and rich in the materials of poetry. These wonders were still more thickly sown towards the pillars of Hercules; and as the period of Grecian fables separated the time of genuine history from the unknown ages of which all traces were lost, so there was an ever-widening horizon, peopled with unreal and shadowy shapes, which separated the discoveries of the Tyrian mariners from that ocean of darkness, into which no sail had ever entered, and which was supposed to be beyond the bounds of nature and her laws.

The Grecian states were full of life, because full of liberty; their freedom proceeded from their diminutive size; their intersection made them small, and their smallness free. For a town is always democratical, and the Grecian states consisted of a town and the neighbouring vale. The kings fell like ripe fruit without a struggle, and even in the kingly period, the states were ruled by eloquence, persuasion, and free consent. Their size and freedom made every thing tell—every man was at his

full speed—to him patriotism and glory, the great movers to great actions, were not abstractions but sensible realities—his country was the scene before his eyes—glory was the daily voice of his countrymen.

The time of the world they lived in was in favour of the Greeks—it was the morning—the youth of existence—hope had received no blight—it was “the sweet hour of prime.” All things ministered to fancy, not poetry alone, but religion and philosophy alike partook of its fairy essence, and were indeed its creatures; and in return furnished its food and fed its fires—the mind ran in one current, all was “compact of imagination.”

Grecian literature had the advantage of a double originality in language and materials. The Greek, as a mother language, had vast advantages over mixed dialects and lingua-Francas, which, combined of ill assorted elements, rest upon feet of iron mixed with clay; and, like unorganized substances, can only be enlarged by the accession of foreign materials, while original languages, having the principle of life in them, increase by the extension of their own vital energy, and as the skin fits itself to every growth of the body, so their flexibility adapts itself to every expansion and tone of the national mind. Mixed dialects, on the contrary, retain, throughout, the propensities of their mulish nature,—are stubborn and unproductive; formed for the purposes of barter, they savour of their origin, and have a direct tendency to business.

Grecian genius received hints, rather than materials from Egypt and Phœnicia ; and these were soon so filtered as to be free from any foreign taint. Their literature, like their language, was primitive and homogeneous, and like the giant trees of the forest which have never been transplanted, and whose *tap* root has not been destroyed, it grew great in its native seat, and imbibed the full nourishment of the soil.

THE ROMANS.

VII. On the contrary, when learning was transferred from Greece to Rome, it never took deep root, and made few spontaneous shoots, but still retained the delicacy of an exotic, and only grew with continued culture and carefulness ;—the literature of Rome was not national, and consequently not popular—it was at best a free imitation, often a mere translation, of thoughts which had received their birth in another country, from other events, and under other laws. After the Grecians had ceased to be inventors, the human mind for a long series of ages, seemed to have lost the power of originality :—Three great races of men placed all their learning in studying the Grecian models, with no other variety than what proceeded from their greater or lesser inability to enter fully into the thoughts, or copy the style of their masters. While the Romans, the Saracens, and the Goths, were attempting to tread in the footsteps of Grecian genius, and the nations of the east had already reached

the greatest height which the genius of their civilization permitted them to ascend, it may safely be asserted that the whole human race did not make one step in advance for more than a thousand years, and thereby gave a full confutation to the opinion of a necessary and continual progress in human society.

The Romans, deriving their stock from a common origin with the Grecians—speaking a cognate language—having a climate not greatly inferior, and laws rather improved—possessing the same intellectual horizon—credulous of the same fables—and worshipping the same deities, had scarcely the trouble of translating from the Greek language into their own, so naturally did the thoughts pass from one into the other; but still there is the difference between originality and imitation, and the loss which accompanies all transference of thought in its expansiveness as well as in its freshness. The Greeks, with only nature to borrow from, were inexhaustible in their copiousness;—the Romans, with nature, and Grecian literature to boot, to pillage from, shrink into much narrower limits, and the spoil of many volumes scarce suffices to compose one. The airy and speculative disquisitions of Greece disappear in the plainer and practical philosophy which was naturalized at Rome, and the more ethereal inquiries concerning the essences and first causes of things which had been the exercise of Athenian subtilty, yielded the first place,

among the Romans, to the maxims which directed states, or regulated the conduct of private life.

The Romans were borrowers in all things—they studied but one art, the art of conquering the world ; and even the weapons by which they extended their conquests were borrowed from the vanquished. The Roman state was like the Roman soldier—to him the day of battle was the time of relaxation, and war a season of pastime, compared with the severer toils of peace. The state when at war had only to contend with foreigners, and men whom it was habituated to overcome ; but when it ceased to be invaded from without it was attacked from within, and when conquest had been achieved, a new struggle commenced, not with strangers, but with Romans. The only change of which their condition admitted was, that peace brought with it interminable struggles, and war, certain and speedy victory. Men in this hostile temper of mind, and in this fervid state of action, had no leisure to cultivate any arts but those of victory, and even in these arts, so immediate was the pressure of their exigencies, that they were at once the vanquishers and adopters of the superior skill of their enemies.

Like the rudest nations, they had a national poetry, and of a peculiar and impressive cast, but of which few fragments remain. Yet if we may judge from some verses of Ennius, it was massive, like the buildings of the ancient Etruscans, and of a rigid and iron mould, like the Roman character itself,—but this was of too scanty and slow a growth to sa-

tisfy those patricians, who, with a sudden influx of wealth, had acquired a taste for the knowledge of Greece. An imitation of Grecian literature soon supplanted the more racy but tardier produce of the Roman soil. The patronage of a few distinguished members of the aristocracy, who like Scipio and Lælius were studious of foreign refinement, and the servile and foreign origin of the earliest authors they patronised, as Terence and Plautus, sufficiently indicate that the manufacture of Grecian into Latin literature was neither the work of genius of home growth, nor undertaken by the incitement of national encouragement. Not even when the Grecian writings were naturalized at Rome, and a taste was diffused for them throughout the people, did it occur to the Roman writers that nature lay as open to them as to their predecessors, and that originality had any other meaning than to signify what had never before been translated. Their poets talk of approaching new fountains, by paths untrodden by any previous footsteps; but they were new, only as being untasted, and unvisited by the Romans who, far from seeking for fresh springs, upon untrodden summits, were contented to slake their thirst at the plentiful streams brought home to them by Grecian aqueducts. The writings of the Greeks were exalted to be a perpetual standard—every departure from them was involuntary, and the effect of weakness—they seemed like the ideas and archetypes of Plato, which contain each in its kind, the fulness and perfection of existence, and

every variety from which had its source in defect and in its being less stamped with the original mould of excellence.

Yet the literature of the Latins had its peculiar merits; their writers, in their imitation, had the benefit of choice and selection; the various beauties of the Grecian writers were equally transferable, and like the bee, to which Horace compares himself, they could gather honey from a hundred flowers. It is this selection and corrective taste which gives their charm to the Roman writers, in whom, if there is less to enkindle genius, there is at the same time less to offend fastidiousness; and as in poetry they forsook the hardier attractions of originality, for beauties which admitted of a near view and a nicer examination; so in the armory of the Grecian philosophy, they deserted those weapons which were chiefly for ostentation, and fitted themselves with armour that was serviceable in the actual warfare of life.

THE SARACENS.

VIII. The Saracens and the Goths, who seized upon the fragments of Roman and Grecian greatness, partook of a very unequal share of the plunder, and with very unequal fortunes. The Saracens became quickly imbued with Grecian civilization, and as quickly lost it; while the Gothic race, who, for a long time, seemed as barbarous after they entered the empire as before, recovered the lost seeds of civilization, and cherished them into an abundant

harvest. The causes, however, of this difference may be traced ; the civilization of the eastern half of the empire was immediately Grecian ; it was peopled with Greeks who had brought their literature along with them, which existed there as genuine as at home, though more diffused ; but the civilization of the west had been obtained more slowly, imperfectly, and at second hand from Rome which herself had derived from Greece, through the medium of another language. Hence the soil of the east was much more impregnated with science than the west ; and when the rapid and fierce invasion of the Saracens had passed over it, there still remained much of the former treasures of knowledge that had not been swept away ; but in the west, one invasion only opened the way to another, and the relics that survived the first storm were scattered more widely by a second, and utterly dissipated by a third.

The civilization of the Saracens has been equally remarkable for its brilliancy and its briefness—both proceeding, in a great measure, from the brilliancy and the briefness of their conquests. A battle made them masters of kingdoms, and they occupied palaces and thrones from which their predecessors had scarcely departed. When the first heat of victory and fanaticism was over, the Caliphs sought for the wise men as for the hidden treasures of the countries they had despoiled and mastered ; and the wisdom of the Greeks, the se-

crets of the Magi, and the inventions of the nations beyond the Indus, were accumulated along with the peculiar riches of the east and the west, around the throne of the Caliph.

The Saracens had stretched over the nations, like a thunder-cloud, and like an electrical arch they had lightened at once at both extremities; thus forming a conductor between the east and the west, they brought into contact and combination the discoveries of races who lived on opposite sides of the earth. The formation of gunpowder, paper, printing, and other arts, which had long remained inert in the east, became animated with European intelligence: and society has changed its face less from any new invention, than from two elements entering into a new combination,—the empirical discoveries of the east, and the ingenuity of Europe, fertile in improvement and application. But, as we have said, the brevity of their career was equal to its brilliancy. The Saracens were but scholars, and never held the key in their own hand, of the information they had obtained, that is, the Greek Language; the learning of the Greeks was crushed beneath the yoke of their pupils. When the Greeks ceased to communicate, the Saracens ceased to advance: the arabic translations of Greek authors became to them the boundary of the mind—truths which it was impossible to transcend, limits impassable to the most exalted intelligence. Even this portion of Arabian science has existed chiefly without the confines of Arabia; and when its for-

eign empire fell to the ground, these translated records perished with it, or existed only in those fragments which had been a second time translated into the barbarous Latin of the scholastics. (G.)

GOTHIC RACE.

IX. The eminence which the Gothic nations have subsequently attained may be traced to their weakness—to the very causes that might be supposed to produce an opposite result—to the fewness of their numbers, which incorporated them with the vanquished nations, and to the disorganization, the result of the feudal system, which, breaking every bond of union, threw each one back upon his own resources, and developed an energy of individual character unexampled before or since.

The civilization of the Greeks took its form from cities,—that of the Gothic race, from the solitary life of strong holds surrounded by forests. Amidst the darkness of the darkest ages, when the whole frame of Society had fallen to pieces, there arose, though unseen, the commencement of a new mind, and a new moral world, as different from the preceding, as if a second deluge had swept over the earth, and prepared the way for the renewal of the species. The new European nations gave at first no great promise of originality; they were imitators, and imitators of the worst models,—the barbarous writers who lived during the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. From these they gradually re-ascended, as they emerged from barbarism,

till, after a century or two, they acquired a taste for, and a familiarity with, the writers of the Augustan age.

The first fruitful source of thought they discovered, arose from combining the poetry of ancient Rome with that of the Provençal bards. Many have been surprised at the almost miracle of Dante creating at once a new language, and a new cast of poetry ; but the riches of one dialect can easily be transfused into another. The treasures of the Latin language were opened to enrich the Italian, as those of the Greek had formerly been to the Latins ; while a new point of view, and a new shade of colouring for all objects having been obtained in the peculiar turn of mind that had arisen in the dark ages, the images of the Roman poets had again the appearance of novelty, when seen through the stained medium which partially admitted the light of other days. The new position of the moderns gave a newness to their views, and though not on the same eminence with the ancients, they also began to ascend a height, whence they could behold the same objects that had before occupied the attention of their predecessors, placed indeed at a greater distance, and more indistinctly manifested. They had, however, some advantages, in being freed from many of the bright illusions which had led astray the Grecians, and in having no magical language to throw a veil over the wanderings of their imaginations, or to disguise the tenuity of their thoughts. Less occupied with vivid fancies, they

studied more closely the real world ; and that world, while they studied it, expanded itself to their view, and opened those recesses which had been concealed from the beginning of time.

MODERN EUROPE.

X. The literature which was formed during the fourteenth century, was made up of two constituent parts, derived from the peculiarity of Gothic genius on the one hand, and from the revival of classical learning on the other ; and all would have been well, had each been kept to its due proportions ; but, as it is much more easy to borrow than to invent, the originality of genius was nearly stifled by the facility of procuring supplies from the ancient writers ; and the learned men of Europe in the fifteenth century were likely to become mere imitators—the most successful, but the most servile of the models of Greece and Rome. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, however, a new influence rose, which, united with other changes that immediately followed it, has given the modern nations a fresh impulse, has disclosed to them more than a new world, and is carrying them to a distance far beyond the bounds of ancient authority, where the voices from antiquity come feeble upon the ear, and the greatness of Greece and Rome is lessened to the view. This great and newly-risen power, which as yet has not put forth half its strength, is the art of printing. It has reformed religion, and new-modelled philosophy—has infused a new spirit

into laws, and overrules governments with a paramount authority—makes the communication of mind easy and instantaneous beyond example—confers a perpetuity unknown before upon institutions and discoveries, and gives those wings to science which it has taken from time.

From the end of the fifteenth century we may date the fourth period of Advancement in Society, which is yet far from being exhausted, and it may be hoped, will proceed with an accelerating velocity, since the causes which gave it birth still exist, and will soon be brought to act on human affairs with an increase of energy.

The first of these causes in time, and in importance, in the time of its discovery, and in the importance of its ultimate effects, was, as we have said, the art of printing; but the cause most immediately operative was the discovery of America, which, in the influence it is destined to exert on the human race, is second and only second, to the art of printing. The very knowledge of the existence of America loosened the fetters of the authority, and diminished the importance of the ancients: it even seemed to dwarf their greatness, by showing to what a corner they were confined, and how ignorant they were of the world which they inhabited. The mind became animated with hopes that all had not been exhausted by antiquity, and that, as nature had reserved a new world to reward the attempts of the moderns, so, in like manner, new revelations of the moral world might await the intellectual dis-

coverer, who should be daring enough to force his way to them.

While the earth was enlarged by the addition of a new continent, the universe was amplified, and its bounds were made to recede, by the invention of the telescope ; and the philosophy of the ancients, with their theories about *their* narrow system of existence, seemed at once puerile, and immature when compared with that path into immensity which Galileo had opened, and that host of starry worlds which were described by the Columbus of the heavens.

Printing, and the use of fire arms, the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, which accompanied that of America, and the subsequent circumnavigation of the globe, the invention of the telescope, united with that of the microscope,—all these acquisitions and discoveries, crowded together into the space of a few fleeting generations, hurried mankind, before they were aware of it, into a new career, by an impetus which we still feel, and which is still carrying the world forward without our being able to indicate the point in futurity where its motion will cease. A variety of hindrances have retarded these causes from producing that full and transforming change which they are destined in the end to effect. It is at particular periods that their influence has been most felt, and that a force has been exerted which allows us to calculate how great the measure of their concentrated power will be, when, having wasted the ob-

stacles which oppose its progress, as the shore is gradually worn away by the tide, it can burst through all restraints, and pour itself abroad without a struggle or a limit. The reformation was a period of that kind, though the mind was scarcely then conscious of its newly discovered resources; yet the change which took place in society, without any force but that of opinion, showed that new energies had sprung up, and that the moral world was about to be subjected to new laws. Never had the human faculties been so deeply and universally stirred as by the disputes between Luther and the Church of Rome. Unlike other questions, confined to a single country, and to a few speculative men, it shook Europe from one extremity to the other, and every individual was interested in an issue which concerned his own conduct and happiness. Wide was the passage from the stupor and servile acquiescence of the dark ages to the unlimited freedom of inquiry, and the fearless assertion of the right of private judgment, by which were subjected to understandings of every degree of strength and weakness, disputations more important and sublime than had of old exercised the philosophers of Athens, and baffled the penetration of the acutest geniuses of antiquity. After this the sleep of the human mind was thoroughly broken.— Long established authority held a very precarious sway if it had neither force nor reason to uphold it; and, if the kings of Europe had not lent their swords in defence of error, the doctrines of the re-

formers would have made their way, and would have gained the ascendancy, in countries the most deeply degraded by the yoke of the church of Rome. Partial, however, as the reformation was, both in its spirit and in its extent, it has sufficiently evidenced the strength of opinion, when, combined with intimate persuasion, urged by the voice of conscience, and diffused by the new facilities which the press afforded ; and error and traditional authority have avowed themselves unequal to the contest, by taking refuge under the protection of brutal force.

That spirit which had produced the reformation, and revival of religion, was thenceforward easily, and naturally extended to other inquiries, and speedily produced a reform in philosophy. The struggle in throwing off the iron bands of superstition gave new vigour to the human faculties, and minds of the old giant breed again appeared among men. The confidence of such minds was equal to their strength ; every thing that passed through their hands assumed a new form ; and out of the ruins of ancient magnificence, they shaped to themselves a new model of creation, more enduring as more deeply grounded in nature.

The greatest of these great minds at length obtained the clue of nature's labyrinth, and was enabled to dig deep enough to lay a solid foundation for science. The ancient philosophers, before they could erect a system of their own, had to demolish the theories of their predecessors, as the kings of

the east, when they build their shifting capitals, often construct them out of the materials of some former metropolis. But the discoveries of the inductive philosophers unite together with the continuity which belongs to real existence ; and support and nourish each other as parts of one harmonious whole. Being rooted in nature, inductive philosophy has the principle of growth in it, and has no other barrier to its increase than the limits of creation and of the faculties of the mind. Its instruments and its materials are always ready and at hand, in phenomena and in observation ; and it rests upon two unfailing supporters, truth and time. The efforts of former searchers after truth were blows at random, and truth and error were alike the result of their inquiries ; but the method of Bacon not only leads to conclusions where truth alone is the produce, and where error is excluded, but contains within it a self-perpetuating power, by which attention and combination supply the want of a concurrence of favourable circumstances, and the transient divinations of genius. Yet one defect it has ; and that partly foreseen and guarded against by Bacon ; not founded on any imperfection of method, but on the sluggishness natural to man.—Whatever facilitates, weakens ; and the mind derives its strength from labour, and its activity from variety. The multiplicity and minuteness of operations prescribed by induction, occasioned the division of intellectual labour, which increased the acquisitions, but diminished the powers and the en-

thusiasm of mankind. Excluded from the universality of nature, the philosophers of modern days have been confined by this humbler though certain path to narrower and still narrower portions of that ample field which the daring speculations of the ancient philosophers permitted them to traverse.

In proportion as the method of philosophy has been improved, the powers of philosophers have decreased. Imagination has given place to minute and narrow observation. Intellect, discursive as the universe, has been superseded by that degree of mind, which is adequate to class a few facts : and the intense attention which was exacted by the mysteries of transcendental philosophy, is exchanged for that slight view, in which the eye of the body is more exercised than that of the mind. The discoveries, however, of one inductive philosopher coincide with those of another : while the theories of the ancient speculators were mutually destructive. And in this way even the small contributions of little minds become important from accumulation ; while great events still produce great geniuses ; and, upborne by the revolutions of Europe, a number of men have always reached a height far above their contemporaries.

The religious reformation, and the attempts at civil reformation—the commonwealth and the revolution of England—the Fronde, and the later preparations for revolution in France—have each of them given birth to minds of a stronger texture and larger grasp than could be expected in seasons

of political calm. Shakspeare, along with Bacon, Milton, and Newton, mark respectively, not only the greatest height which the intellect is capable of ascending, but indicate those periods of civil and religious conflict, when the energy of a nation is called forth, and the strength which was at first exercised in political convulsions, passes at length from action to contemplation. It is at such epochs, and from such men mutually enkindling each other's genius, that the most signal advancements have been derived, to whom the progress of society, retarded at other times almost to a full stop, owes its rapid accelerations. These are the master spirits we need at the present moment, to lend their aid to science and literature; to enrich what is sterile, and reinvigorate what is effete: to engraft the scattered branches upon one living stock; to make the same vital sap circulate through them all; and to clothe their naked outline with the blossoms of a new spring; and, like the fabled soul of the world, to warm and actuate every member of the inert and disjointed mass with the presence of a prolific and informing intelligence.

SUMMARY.

XI. It thus appears, to sum up what has been already noticed, within what narrow spaces and brief limits the progresses of society are confined. Some remembrances of antediluvian knowledge; some partial elements of sciences that had perished; obscure recollections of the history of

a former world, gradually assuming a mythological cast, and the truncated basis of a common language which was beginning to shoot out again into various dialects, about to become the mother languages of the many-tongued earth, formed the hereditary stock of those who had escaped the deluge, and had their first seats between the Tigris and Euphrates.

A second advancement, and a second state of society, arose from the empires founded on the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the rivers of the farthest east—where the elements of lost science were again wrought up into systems of knowledge, but of knowledge which even in its infancy was corrupted by superstition; still, however, presenting an immense mass of opinions, mixed with perverted analogies, and expressed in symbols or in languages intelligible only to one initiated class. This civilization, diffused over the finest portion of the earth, and spreading from the Mediterranean to the Pacific Ocean, still exists, with sciences real or pretended in India and China, down to the present day: yet it is difficult to estimate the progress made where advancement is so mingled with wanderings, and truth with error; and where civilization continues to entail so much misery upon mankind.

The third and most rapid and illustrious civilization is that of Greece, confined to a narrow space while progressive, though, after it had ceased to rise, extended in breadth over a wide and populous region—the most marvellous in its secret and sud-

den origin, and reaching the height of humanity in its various attainments ; and, as if exhausting the mind by superhuman efforts, succeeded by a long period of unproductiveness and imitation.

After the Roman, Arabic, and Gothic imitators of the Greeks, we arrive at the fourth period of advancement, the successful and fruitful period which has elapsed from the revival of letters to the present time ; which unites, in some measure, the triumphant results of Grecian genius to the more extensive civilization of the early monarchies ; yet, even during this course of more steady and uniform amelioration, we perceive narrower limits and longer intervals than might at first have been anticipated ; and though all Europe has been advancing, it is advancing by the labours of a few. First Italy, then France and England, and latterly Germany, have borne the heat and burden of the day, and even in these countries the light of knowledge has only shone upon a few eminences, while the primitive darkness, scarcely disturbed, has rested on the body of the people. When we regard more narrowly, we see that this advancement is chiefly owing to some powerful political struggle which calls out from obscurity men who would otherwise have slumbered away their lives, or to some eminent genius who enkindles around him a cluster of similar minds, where each reflects and multiplies the brightness of which all are partakers.

DEFECT OF TERMS.

XII. The interior movements of society have been so little attended to, that the vocabulary is somewhat scanty for discriminating the shades of its changes ; savage, barbarian, agricultural, and civilized, are the only four terms we have to denominate the range and variety of social existence. The application of them is determined by the mode of procuring subsistence ; and the etymology of all of them is obvious, except that of barbarian, which has been greatly mistaken. Like several other terms whose roots are unknown, it was probably derived by the Greeks from the Phœnicians and Egyptians ; and the originals of the name are perhaps to be found in the Berber race ; those shepherds who over-ran Egypt, and whose name and occupation became alike an abomination to the Egyptians. The same term is found in the Sanscrit, and appears there as a stranger and an exotic ; a circumstance which tends to throw some light upon the early communications of India. The savage condition had its prototypes in the early and sylvan inhabitants of Arcadia, who fed upon acorns, or followed the chase ; the barbarian—in those Libyan shepherds, celebrated in Greece for the unrivalled fecundity of their flocks ; the agricultural—in the favoured race taught by Ceres to solicit by the plough the earth for food ; and the civilized—in those whom the Grecian legislators gathered into cities, and informed by manners and by laws.

Even these denominations are of lax application; the savage, though denoting the simplest state, is obliged to stand for a variety of conditions; the solitary animal, who in the Indian islands, is hunted like the beasts of chase, and takes refuge in the branches of trees; the miserable wretches that scarcely exist upon the Andaman islands, and the brutal families of New South Wales, are included under the same designation with the bravest and most eloquent tribes of the North American Indians. While thus barely furnished with terms for the first steps of human progress, we are left altogether without the assistance of names to mark the ascending scale of civilized life. In default of these, we may make use of the periods of advancement already pointed out to distinguish the modes and degrees of civilization. The civilization of the early monarchies had one character throughout—the Hindoo idolater is still ready to bend his knee at the ruined shrines of ancient Egypt; and in the series of philosophic history, the chasm occasioned by the loss of the Egyptian and Chaldean writings, is supplied by the works of the Chinese and Indians. The classic, the Saracenic, and the Gothic, mark out other forms of civilization; and their history indicates the elements of which they were composed; while modern civilization embraces the new series of years that have begun their course since the invention of printing, and the discovery of America, not altogether freed from

the colouring of the times which preceded them, and not yet disclosed in the fulness of their influence.

COMPLEX MOVEMENT OF SOCIETY.

XIII. Not only are the terms for the different points of social improvement defective, but the play of the intricate frame work of society has been indistinctly comprehended. Nor is it wonderful, considering the maze and multiplicity of its movements, that opinions respecting them should be as various as the aspects in which they are beheld; it remains, therefore, to indicate from what partial points of view the conflicting opinions, concerning the retrograde, stationary, and progressive condition of society, have been derived; and to give each its due place in the complex mechanism of human affairs.

Borne forward by the progress of Europe, and feeling the rapidity of the movement, we are apt to transfer our own advancements to mankind in general, and to imagine that there is a necessary and continued amelioration in human affairs. But if, withdrawing our attention from the present scene, and the times we live in, we extended our view to the seats of ancient empire, or the records of ancient wisdom, and reckoned up the monuments of greatness that has perished, and of genius that no more walks the earth, we might come to a contrary conclusion, and suspect that what we most admire were but the relics of a more widely extended state of prosperity; that science is diminished in

her sway ; and that the earth is despoiled of half its glories. So many cities exist but in ruins, so many regions look back to a far distant age, as the era of their greatness, that we may traverse four-fifths of the globe, and find that the nations are feeding, not upon hopes, but upon remembrances ; and that to them it is the past, and not the future, that is encircled with brightness. In this over estimate of foregone time, there is an obvious, but ceaseless illusion, which is ever playing with a dazzling light upon antiquity. The brief present is compared to the long past ; and all the advantages and acquisitions of all ages are weighed against the circumstances and survivals of the times we live in. And the temper in which we approach the question is partial ; for when we look to the present we are chiefly occupied about inconveniencies we wish to remove ; and when we regard the past, about advantages which we regret, and would wish to retain. There is, indeed, a slight retrograde movement in society, confined within a narrow space, and but the reflux of the advancing wave. It consists in this, that the vigour and heat of originality is wasted by transmission, and that the repetition of copies circulates a feebler impression of the master-thoughts of those geniuses who have laid the foundations of knowledge. It is thus that the Indians and Chinese have somewhat receded, for upwards of a thousand years, from the vividness of those writings which have moulded their minds, and preoccupied their admiration. But in countries

where the faculties are not enthralled, and where new teachers are ever communicating new discoveries, this retrograde movement forms but an eddy in the onward stream of human improvement. Another retrograde movement is occasioned by the severity of nature, and the inhospitality of climate, where, oppressed by an unfavourable situation, as in the instance of the tribes driven upon the shores of the Icy Sea, mankind sink below their former level, by being obliged to exchange a more abundant mode of subsistence for one less productive; but this retrogression is of rare occurrence, and hardly enters into a general reckoning of the fortunes and changes of the species. The receding movement formerly noticed in India and China is of small moment, and fully compensated by the under current of descending knowledge, which is gradually pervading all ranks, and floating down to them the acquisitions of superior minds, and which more than makes up, if we compute the mass of information existing at any one time, for the deficiencies of those who have ceased to enlarge the attainments of science, and who hold what has already been acquired with a relaxed grasp.

The view that next presents itself is that which represents society as stationary; merely regaining in one direction what it loses in another; and, if any single principle, necessarily and continually operative, were to be admitted, this is the one applicable to the greatest number of instances. Nature having formed large tracts of country, in some

places fit only for hunting, and in others for pasturage, has condemned succeeding generations to follow the same hereditary occupations, by the barrier of insurmountable obstacles; and where nature has been more liberal, custom has stepped in, and by the chains of caste, as strong as those of necessity, has rivetted individuals to the same profession with their ancestors, and to the same narrow circle of thought. In other cases, where, with an open expanse before them, mankind might hope for an almost limitless course, so many adverse storms thwart their farther progress, that it is only by a perpetual struggle that they can prevent themselves being driven back to the point from which they set out. Even a certain number of truths, when in possession of the mind, often make good their settlement against any new occupants; and satisfied with what they have already attained, the supposed wealth of many constitutes their real poverty. And men, in all circumstances, so strongly gravitate to the earth, and ascent is to them so adverse, that those who advance forward are rare and brilliant exceptions to the mighty sediment that they leave behind them.

This stationary tendency, and this inertness in society, if numerically considered, is the most prevalent; yet the tendency to advancement is the most diffusive; since that which is gained by one is communicable to all.

While thus society has been stationary in the mass, and retrograde in some instances; an ad-

vancement, though neither universal nor continual, has been carrying one portion of mankind after another along that course of improvement to which all men seem destined by their faculties, and by their hopes, and which so few are allowed to enter and to persevere in. This high trust of amassing intellectual wealth for the species, has been permitted but to a few nations, and to no nation for more than a few ages. When the light of knowledge is dawning upon new countries, it is setting upon its ancient seats.

"Illic sero rubens accendit lumina Vesper."

The first and second periods of advancement which joined into each other, were the longest in time, as well as the most extensive in the variety of regions they spread over. Egypt and Chaldea had been accumulating knowledge for above fifteen hundred years, and the same movements in advance were prolonged and repeated in India and China, which, as they appear to have been later, so they continued to advance longer, and were progressive till the Christian era. But as rivers in their course are often choked up by natural barriers, and become lakes before they can continue their progress, so this wide-spread civilization was diffused and stagnant over the east, till it found a new issue in Greece. Along the whole course of the mind, it is remarkable that there are moral barriers which rise at intervals, and in succession, impeding its movement, and almost threatening to arrest it

for ever. The first of these boundaries is that which was encountered by the early monarchies, and which stopped them all after they had reached nearly the same point. It consisted in the misapplication of science ; and, as trees in some soils grow but to a certain length, and are afterwards covered over with a decaying fungus, so knowledge in these countries shot up to a certain fixed point, and was soon encrusted and consumed by those false sciences and superstitious studies which fastened around its trunk, and sucked out its nourishing sap. The second obstacle which limited the progress of the Greeks, consisted in their ignorance of the power of the instrument to be employed for the attainment of truth—that is, their ignorance of the faculties of their own mind, and of the mode of applying them to the study of nature in a way which would lead them to true science.

The Romans, the Saracens, and the Goths, were prevented from advancing by a very obvious cause ; for as water can rise no higher than its level, so imitation can never surpass its model, and in most instances must fall considerably below it. Whatever hindrances exist at the present day are not among the number of those greater obstacles, and are all in the way of being overcome by the natural course of events, but might be still more speedily removed by the assistance of art. Futurity alone can decide whether other impediments remain behind, that will terminate the movement which is now carrying on society, or whether science will advance

till it reach its last and ultimate obstacle in its limits of the human mind.

ADVANCEMENT PROVIDENTIAL.

XIV. In all the movements of society there is an ever-resumed and renovated progress, but not a necessary and uninterrupted progress. There is a real advancement, but arising out of the issues of events, and not out of the necessity and nature of things. As individuals perish to give room to those to whom they have given life, so one nation kindles a light for another from its own dying lamp, and is itself soon left in darkness; and from viewing what is past, we might as well ascribe a natural immortality to man, as an inherent perpetuity to his attainments in knowledge.

The progress of science has depended on a very slender thread of transmission hitherto, and has been determined by a few incidental circumstances, incidental, if compared with the sum of human affairs, and remarkable chiefly from their consequences. Make one or two slight modifications in geography, or reverse one or two events in history, and the hopes of the world would have received a blight, without the prospect of a second spring.—Expunge Greece, and the map of the world would remain nearly the same; but how different would be the condition of the moral world! for the model of epic poetry we should only have had the Ramayouna of Valmeeki, and for the exemplar of moral philosophy the sayings of Confucius. In history,

alter the event of the battles of Salamis and of Tours, and we should hold as the highest examples of human greatness the lives of the Chosroes and the Caliphs.

The Deity has made human life brittle, that His continual providence might be manifest in the preservation of it; and He seems to have withheld from man the impetus that would have carried him forward at all times, and in all places, to the perfection of his intellect, that His providence in human affairs might be visible, in supplying from minute, and apparently fortuitious events, those assistances to humanity which the world at large did not furnish. If we look upon the changes of society as a progress to one great end, the history of the larger part of mankind becomes a mere episode, and the interest of the drama of human life is confined to a narrow space and scanty population, who carry along with them the destiny of the species, while the mass of nations remain uninterested and unconcerned in those acquisitions for humanity, of which in the end they will only be the passive recipients. Egypt, Greece, Italy, and again Italy, France, England, and Germany, form the narrow theatre on which the fates of man have been transacted, as far as it respects his civil existence and scientific attainments.

By their means under divine guidance, a succession of knowledge has been preserved, and the stream of science, though, like what was fabled of

Alpheus, it has sunk under ground, has burst again to light, and flowed in an ever-widening channel.

There is this peculiarity in the process, remarkable but not singular; for a similar course is observed elsewhere under the divine government, both in the natural and the moral world; that benefits, which are intended ultimately to be as diffusive as mankind, are shut up within some narrow confines, or reserved for the keeping of a privileged race, who maintain the sacred deposit until the appointed season.

It has long been objected to Christianity, and especially to the Mosaic dispensation, that it was confined to a barren country and an insignificant tribe; and the argument has been applied to it, which was urged by Cato, against the Inspiration of the Oracle of Ammon, that it was absurd to suppose that the Deity retired from the immensity of nature, and withdrew into a desert, that he might utter his voice to a few, and bury truth in the sands.

"Ut caneret Paucis mersitque hoc pulvere Verum."

But the same objection might be applied to the ordering of the physical and the moral world; since one plan, emanating from the same intelligence, is observable throughout all. Religion and science, like two streams destined to unite in the same channel, have flowed on side by side, and have passed through the same countries, involved in the same maze of events, and suffering or triumphant under the same variety of political changes. The

affairs of the Israelites were closely connected with those of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and afterwards were ultimately bound to those of Greece and Rome. The world of the Jewish writers was the world of the Roman Empire ; and the history of Christianity has been carried on by those Gothic tribes who have continued the improvement of science, and with whose ever-brightening fortunes both knowledge and religion are decreed to extend their sway, and to perpetuate their advancement. But, not to insist on a minor argument for the truth of revelation, which is already almost overburdened with the copiousness and infinite variety of its proofs, and where the difficulty and the merit of its advocates has long consisted in selection, it is pleasing and important to remark the kindred origin and history, and at length the indissoluble union of science and religion ; and to anticipate the combined result of their efforts in the service of man, and the blessings they are likely to draw down upon his head.

ANCIENT AND MODERN ACTION OF SOCIETY.

XV. As the mind must be first acted upon by external objects, before it is conscious of its own existence, or can voluntarily exert its powers, so the joint result of many minds which may be called the mind of society, must first be acted upon by events, and must be roused to action by external incitement, before it amasses vigour to react upon itself, and to control and direct its own movements.—

Hence the first changes which the mind of society receives, proceed from the changes which modify its external form, and are regulated by these in their measure, and determined in their duration. One of the most influential circumstances in society is the mode of obtaining subsistence, which in its early stages fixes its character and denomination, and even in its later progress exerts a wide sway over all its bearings ; thus the first and most accelerating impulses are those which mankind receive from a change in their subsistence ; when betaking themselves to a more abundant method of supply, plenty is diffused among them. When leaving the chase for pasturage, or rearing corn instead of depending solely upon cattle, the population, which before felt the pressure of want, possess food in abundance, and are borne forwards upon a sudden tide of prosperity ; the mind partaking of the general movement, and warmed by the impetus of advancing, is roused from its torpor, and enlarges also its acquisitions. But it is after governments are moulded into a fixed shape, and exert a defined action, and after the series of events have commenced which constitute the history of the nation, that what is truly the national mind is formed, and that the genius of the nation arises to proportional heights at successive intervals, as if responding to the national achievements. The names of Homer and of Troy are for ever conjoined, not merely because Homer celebrated its destruction, but because the same impulse which poured all Greece upon the shores of

Asia, was perpetuated down to him, and did not terminate till it had enkindled his genius. The lustre of the Athenian theatre shone out after their struggle with the Persians; and the age of Pericles was the age when Athens single-handed withstood the banded power of Greece. The poem of Ennius followed the successes of the Romans in their Carthaginian wars, as the songs of triumph attended the chariot of the Conqueror; and the Augustan age of poetry closed the long contests which involved the extremities of the Roman world, as the noise of battle on the field of conflict was terminated and drowned by the pæans of victory.

But as the mind comes at last to acquire a power of modifying the impressions which it receives from without, and of varying them at its will in combination and division; so society attains gradually to a self-moving and self-regulating power, which relieves it from the pressure of immediate circumstances, and enlarges it into a greater freedom from external events. The objects it pursues, and the impulses it receives, are of a more refined and less material character; and if we bring into comparison the heroic times of Greece and the European ages of chivalry, and set the Crusades against the Trojan wars, we shall see that mankind had acquired the capacity of being incited by a far more subtle agency, and by objects which were without the sphere of the senses, and by passions which pressed on to eternity. The ancients were impelled by events, the moderns by thoughts; the power of

the first lay in enthusiasm, of the latter in meditation ; and the ardour of the latter, though slower of kindling, ministers fuel to itself, and prolongs itself after the immediate causes which gave it birth have passed away. The struggle at the Reformation for religious liberty, compared with the struggles of the Greeks for freedom, proved that new and higher interests had occupied the soul of man ; and the contest for civil liberty at the French Revolution, showed that freedom had passed from a passion into a conviction, and instead of a competition for actual privileges, was changed into a war for abstract rights.

The last political change was in all things contrasted with those that preceded it. In other revolutions the events were produced by blind causes, which gave such an impulse in their consequences to mind. Here mind prepared the events, which, though plastic to intelligence, were not productive of it, and the only revolution which mind alone operated, was the only one unfavourable to the development of mind. Other events had given an impulse by the remembrances of glorious actions : the French Revolution, while yet in preparation, afforded glorious hopes, but bequeathed only shameful recollections ; it proved the destruction of those who had set it in motion ; and, disastrous as it was, it has left nothing to animate men in the sharp and bitter transition from the old state of society to one which is entirely new.

REMOVAL OF IMPEDIMENTS.

XVI. With the self-perpetuating power which is springing up in society, a facility is afforded for preserving it from decay, for regulating its movements, and what is more, for turning aside the obstacles which impede its advancement. Several of these are smaller hindrances, which are gradually wasted away, and many of them are destructive of each other. The scattered multitude of facts which are now without a cohesive principle, will unite like the atoms of Epicurus, into an harmonious system, and dry and lifeless details will have a glow of colouring and warmth spread over them. Ingenious difficulties in science will give way to more popular solutions, and the divisions of knowledge, re-united to the heart of nature, will be restored to the domain of eloquence and poetry, and to the fervour of that ancient philosophy, which, if it was barren of information, was strong in passion, and discursive in intellect. The casual evils that result from beneficial inventions, will either perish of themselves, or be swept off by these inventions, when perfected. Printing has been accused of degrading literature, by making a library a vulgar acquisition, and an acquaintance with books a cheap and easy distinction: it has multiplied a number of indifferent works, and has, by their perpetual variety, created a keener appetite for novelty than excellence, and divides and distracts the admiration among a number of imperfect

essays, which was better bestowed upon a few models, when books were rare, and copies of them were less numerous. This evil also is correcting itself, and even in publications of the most trifling kind, a visible improvement is perceived. The lowest class of writers, and of readers, become daily less superficial; and a progress has begun at the lower extreme of society, which will gradually ascend through all its gradations, and buoy them up higher in the scale of intellect. As the most excellent methods are in danger of degenerating into abuse, the inductive philosophy was liable to be perverted, and what was experimental was in danger of becoming empirical; he who had for his province to examine a few facts, out of the multitude of nature's appearances, incurred the risk of leaning too much on his own observations, and of not making sufficient allowance for the mighty space which lay uncontrolled beyond him; or, if he confined his view merely to the narrow tract which was assigned to him, his mind dwindled down to the limited field of vision, and he was cut off from that pervading union, which harmonizes the remotest star, with the flower beneath our feet, and represents the universe as the work of the same Infinite Intelligence.

But the very multitude of facts that have been discovered, without a binding link to connect them, and which in the end will become a burden, even to the memory, will necessarily force the mind to discover the laws which regulate them, and will

lead to a higher exercise of the faculties, as they ascend to the remotest secrets of philosophy.

The effects of printing have been limited by two great obstacles, force, and the deficiency of education. The reformation, as we have said, was arrested, by the kings of Christendom making up their old quarrel with the Pope, and throwing the whole weight of their power and vengeance into the opposite scale ; but the influence of printing is undermining tyranny, as well as superstition, and now that the warfare is begun, despotism must either replunge men into the dark ages, and destroy the press, or be destroyed by it ; since the full influence of each is incompatible with the existence of the other. But the greatest obstacle to the power of the press, has been the want of general education ; without education, printing can effect nothing, the former is to the latter what the female deities of India were to the gods, to whom they were mated ; the recipients of their power, and the medium by which their energy flowed into operation. As education is extended, the power of the press is enlarged, and an action is exerted in the moral world, more subtle and rapid than that fluid in the natural, which lightens at once over the face of the heavens, and shatters whatever barriers are opposed to it.

NEW SOCIAL ORDER IN AMERICA.

XVII. The influence of America has been limited by the monopolies of the mother countries, and

the yoke they have imposed upon their colonies ; but as the last of these fetters is nearly broken, and the new world is left to take its own course, open to all the influences that have arisen upon mankind, and free from those clogs, the broken shackles of former times, which still impede the march of Europe, it will soon display the spirit of modern times rising with fresh vigour from the bosom of new nations, moulding to its own will, and filling with its own genius the nascent commonwealths of the new continent. America is to modern Europe, what its western colonies were to Greece, the land of aspirations and dreams, the country of daring enterprise, and the asylum of misfortune, which receives alike the exile and the adventurer, the discontented and the aspiring, and promises to all a freer life, and a fresher nature.

The European emigrant might believe himself as one transported to a new world, governed by new laws, and finds himself at once raised in the scale of being—the pauper is maintained by his own labour, the hired labourer works on his own account, and the tenant is changed into a proprietor, while the depressed vassal of the old continent becomes co-legislator, and co-ruler in a government where all power is from the people, and in the people, and for the people. The world has not witnessed an emigration like that, taking place to America ; so extensive in its range, so immeasurable in its consequences, since the dispersion of mankind ; or, perhaps since the barbarians broke into the empire,

when the hunter or pastoral warrior exchanged the lake of eagles, or the dark mountains, for the vineyards and olive-yards of the Romans. As attraction in the material world is ever withdrawing the particles of matter from what is old and effete, and combining them into newer and more beautiful forms ; so a moral influence is withdrawing their subjects from the old and worn-out governments of Europe, and hurrying them across the Atlantic, to participate in the renovated youth of the new republics of the west ; an influence which, like that of nature, is universal, and without pause or relaxation ; and hordes of emigrants are continually swarming off, as ceaseless in their passage, and crowded, and unreturning, as the travellers to eternity. Even those who are forced to remain behind, feel a melancholy restlessness, like a bird whose wing is crippled, at the season of migration, and look forward to America, as to the land of the departed, where every one has some near relative, or dear friend gone before him. A voice like that heard before the final ruin of Jerusalem, seems to whisper to those who have ears to hear, "Let us depart hence."

Every change in America has occasioned a correspondent change in Europe ; the discovery of it overturned the systems of the ancients, and gave a new face to adventure and to knowledge ; the opening of its mines produced a revolution in property ; and the independence of the United States overturned the monarchy of France, and set fire

to a train which has not yet fully exploded. In every thing, its progress is interwoven with the fates of Europe. At every expansion of American influence, the older countries are destined to undergo new changes, and to receive a second character from the colonies which they have planted, whose greatness is on so much larger a scale than that of the parent countries, and which will exhibit those improvements which exist in miniature in Europe, unfettered by ancient prejudices, and dilated over another continent.

CONCLUSION.

XVIII. All these influences are in the course of receiving a full development, the boundary that confined them is mouldering and worn by their action, and time alone will ripen them into their fullness of strength, and bring them into contact with the remotest recesses of the world ; but mind may anticipate the work of time, and hasten the disclosure of that new series of years, which even now are ready to expand their wings, unstained with the soil of ancient barbarism, and reflecting the colours of heaven.

ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIETY.

PART SECOND.

THE FUTURE.

NEW ERA OF SOCIETY.

I. ACCORDING to Schelling there are three eras of existence. The first, which is past, was the reign of Chance and Chaos; the second, which now exists, is that of Nature; and the third is, that of an Infinite Mind, which does not yet exist, but will hereafter be developed, and will absorb all finite being. Without entering a verdict of philosophic lunacy against the greatest of living men, as some of his countrymen have called him, or stopping to attend to those fields of science in nubibus, which have been cultivated by the school of Kant with so much diligence, fervour and self-applause, it may merely be remarked, that this bright sally of trans-

cidental insanity affords no bad illustration of that which takes place in human society. We are now living in the "era of nature," in which the various forms of intellect are developed and flourish; but that general mind is only about to disclose itself, which will embrace, cherish, and reunite all into one limitless and all-pervading spirit of intelligence.

The whole of the intellectual world is germinant, and a kindly breath might awaken and unfold it; every part of science is susceptible of immediate additions; and, in most cases, the improvement is so obvious of execution, that each labourer might have his part assigned to him, and a tower of observation and intellectual discovery might be raised without delay.

If the situation of science is favourable, the situation of England is no less so. No cloud in summer was ever more fully surcharged with electricity than England is with moral energy, which needs but a conductor to issue out in any given direction. England has become the capital of a new moral world—the eminence on which intellectual light strikes before it visits the nations—the fountain-head of the rivers that are going forth to water the earth; it is at her option to have well-wishers in every country, and to place herself at the head of the most numerous sect that ever existed, and which is daily increasing—the men who are panting for civil and religious liberty.

Were Alfred restored to life, as it was once believed of the just, that they should again tread the

earth in the latter days, and enjoy the fruits of that which, in their first life, they had planted in equity and righteousness, that peerless king, who, in circumstances desperate, and amid the wreck of affairs, restored England to its former sovereignty, and in the pitchy midnight of the dark ages struck out so many lights that science began to respire, and the mind to awake from its lethargy, could, at this moment, with a touch set the social machine in movement, and perfecting the institutions of his native country, and awakening its genius to new and untried flights, he would be regarded as the universal legislator, from whose hand the earth was to receive new laws, and to whom knowledge would stand revealed in her hidden sources and ultimate powers. Or even were a mind of the first order to arise, though divested of political authority—should an understanding capacious as Aristotle's again traverse over all that was already known, and collecting real observations instead of imaginary powers and qualities, stamp the whole with the impress of his genius, and reduce it, not into an artificial system, but into a correspondence and sympathy with every-day reality, how would each page teem with vitality like nature herself? Not the words alone, as was said of Ulysses' Oratory, would fall thick as the winter snows, but the thoughts also—pressed and condensed together, and each pregnant with new discoveries, as with an ever-fruitful progeny, they would make the reader rich, not in barren syllogisms and endless disputations, but

in views which went deep into the nature of things, and possessed an abiding likeness in the world without them,—while Aristotle, no longer reduced to mere heads of lectures, and the skeleton of his warm and living discourses, would appear such as he was, and such as the ancients found him—as eloquent as universal, bringing with him all his collected copiousness, and pouring down the golden flood of his divine rhetoric, “*Veniet aureum fundens flumen Aristoteles.*” Or if Bacon could return to finish the edifice of which he laid the foundations, or renew the impulse which he first imparted, and with that more than mortal eye which foresaw science before it existed, could survey all its parts, and mark its deficiencies—as the ostrich is fabled to hatch her eggs by gazing on them—his regard alone would discover and bring forth the latent resources of knowledge, and quicken to vigour and productiveness all its dormant energies. His organum would be refitted and perfected; and, as the art of inventing grows with the inventions themselves, all its powers would be amplified and exalted, and the veil would be raised from nature as far as a mortal hand could withdraw it. Yet such men, however eminent, could be aiding but for a time; and the impulse that they gave, like themselves, would pass away. The greatest individual is every way circumscribed, and the limitations of his narrow and brief existence pursue him in whatever he attempts. Numbers and succession can alone enable men to attain that which is great and perpetual; and an as-

sociation of feebler minds transmitting their purposes to ever-renewed successors, would at length be able to accomplish what Alfred, or Aristotle, or Bacon, in the height of fortune, and in the maturity of genius, would have failed to effect.

Limited as the mind of man is, the sciences are still more imperfect and incomplete than might have been expected, even from his imperfect intelligence. With two or three exceptions, none of his discoveries have been reduced into their simplest and most certain form. The light is every where broken in upon by darkness, owing to the unfinished state in which the different branches of knowledge have been left, and to the want of co-operation, and of a corresponding and harmonious method of investigation, and to that despair of arriving at truth, which is only partially shaken off when some new discovery promises at last a revelation of nature. But science is not only incomplete, even as it exists, it has been very imperfectly adapted to practice; numbers of truths have remained unfruitful from want of application, which might have added new comforts and embellishments to life, and the populace and the sages of the same country seem to belong to different periods of the human mind, while the theories of the one are derived from the knowledge of the present day, and the practices of the other are regulated by the ignorance of long past years. Undoubtedly, in the present age, there is a strong tendency to improvement, and science is receiving accessions, minute

but many, which are ever enlarging the extent of her dominions, and this, not from the intentions or device of any combined number of men, but from individuals being borne forward by the general stream. Yet it is not less desirable that means should be pointed out for accelerating this tendency, for exempting it from occasional hindrances, and for combining all favouring aids into one steadily and regularly propelling power.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION.

II. A new influence is arising, which is sufficiently able to supply the deficiencies of governments in attaining ends which they cannot reach, and in affording aids over which they have no control—the power of voluntary association. There is no object to which this power cannot adapt itself; no resources which it may not ultimately command; and a few individuals, if the public mind is gradually prepared to favour them, can lay the foundations of undertakings which would have baffled the might of those who reared the pyramids; and the few who can divine the tendency of the age before it is obvious to others, and perceive in which direction the tide of public opinion is setting in, may avail themselves of the current, and concentrate every breath that is favourable to their course. The exertions of a scanty number of individuals may swell into the resources of a large party, which, collecting at last all the national energies into its aid, and availing itself of the human sympa-

thies that are in its favour, may make the field of its labour and its triumph as wide as humanity itself. The elements being favourably disposed, a speck of cloud collects vapours from the four winds, which overshadow the heavens; and all the varying and conflicting events of life, and the no less jarring and discordant passions of the human breast, when once the channel is sufficiently deepened, will rush into one accelerating torrent, and be borne towards their destined end. The power of voluntary association, though scarcely tried as yet, is of largest promise for the future; and when extended upon a great scale, is the influence most removed from the shock of accidents and the decay of earthly things, renewing its youth with renewed generations, and becoming immortal through the perpetuity of the kind. These societies of free consent are peculiarly of Gothic growth, and flourished most in the Anglo-Saxon times. There, amid the weakness of government, the evils of anarchy, or the disasters of adverse events, individuals formed themselves into new alliances, and made themselves powerful by union for purposes of aggression or defence; and the German chief with his band of military clients, and the Saxon sodalities formed to ward off disorder and rapine, supplied the loosened bands of government, and made up for the weakness or the want of political organization. When, however, governments were knit together, and had grown into strength, and were able to shield those that sought their protection, those so-

cieties, instituted for personal security or private adventure, gave way to, and respected the regular action of established law. But though the two main objects of political society, the preservation of property and of persons, are admirably compassed by modern institutions, yet there are many objects conducive to the well-being of civil life, and perfective of human nature, which are of too airy and volatile an essence to be overtaken by the fixed and cumbrous movement of society at large, but which may be secured and appropriated by voluntary association.

The favourable result of all undertakings depends upon the previous state and preparation of the world, no less than the vegetation of the seed does upon the soil into which it is cast; those who have proceeded farthest in their attempts, and gained the point at which they aimed, had the stream in their favour, and were more indebted to the strength of the current than to their own individual efforts; their superiority to others consisted chiefly in their superior discernment; and they seemed to lead their contemporaries, merely because they themselves were most led by the spirit of the age, and took a favourable situation for being borne forward by the tide, which they had the sagacity to see was upon the turn. The Greeks would have conquered the Persians without Alexander; the Romans would have been enslaved had Cæsar never been born, and the Arabians would have been deceived by other impostors had Mahomet never

professed himself a prophet. The number of similar aspirants among their countrymen and contemporaries, and their partial success in the same line of pursuit, prove, that if they had been removed, others would have run the same career of fortune, and that it was not from any singularity attached to their individual merit or fate, but from having the main stream of events in their favour, that each of them reached the goal and obtained the prize. If we would divine the future, we must look to the tendency of the age in which we live, and if we would derive an augury for the favourable result of a general society, having for its object the improvement and extension of science, we shall find it in the power and prosperity of societies already existing, which, though instituted with small and unfavourable beginnings, already by their number and by their success, give strong indications of how flourishing they are likely to become, and what an influence they are destined to exert in the attainment of purposes, either religious or benevolent. From this decided tendency to association, it might be argued against the utility of a general society, such as now proposed, that the community, if left to itself, would gradually form voluntary unions for the removal of all its inconveniences and the attainment of all its wishes, and that the same spirit of the age, which has already called so many into being, would create others where they are wanted, and complete their number. And this, certainly, to a great extent, would

be the case ; but a large and universal association for all objects in which the interests of humanity are concerned, would not only accelerate the formation of all the rest, but at once would give them their best possible shape and bearing, as in a fluid, which is about to crystalize if a crystal be inserted, the whole mass not only immediately shoots into other crystals, but these are determined by the first, both in their form and dimensions.

The associations which have sprung up so numerous during the last twenty years, and which have struck their roots through every part of the country, and have drawn, from the contributions of persons of all ranks, a sum which formerly would have been deemed incredible, and the bare supposition of which would have been placed among the extravagancies of imagination, have been chiefly religious ; and though some of them were formed previously, they have grown under the shade of the Bible Society, which, far from dwarfing the rest, has imparted to them a share of its own vigour and affluence, and it is a happy omen that religion will be predominant in the time to come, when it is thus found early awake and beforehand with other pursuits in availing itself of the new-born influences which have sprung up in the moral world. Numerous, however, and increasing as these societies may be, they by no means interfere with a general society for promoting knowledge and civilization, but give the best hopes of what a mighty engine for good such a power might be if placed in the hands

of men of energy, benevolence, and wisdom. A society like this, while it assisted and organized the branches that were derived from it, would give them an impulse from without which they could not receive from themselves, while the view of those who are occupied in a single department must be confined to it alone, and derives no assistance from a wider survey, and no new suggestions from an extended comparison, the general and Regent Society would afford the advantages of an eminence, and a prospect which comprehended within its ample range every subordinate department, with all their various bearings; the weakness of each would be supplied from the strength of the others, and a freshness of view, and an ever-renewed incitement would be communicated from the whole to its parts; and the practical experience of those who occupied a particular station, would be united to the largeness of view of those who surveyed them all.

SUPPLIES THE PRIMA PHILOSOPHIA.

III. The Prima Philosophia of Bacon was but a vain imagination, and a chimera substituted to fill up at all hazards the chasm occasioned by discarding the ontology of the schoolmen, itself a chimera, and far from enriching the subordinate sciences, has never been the least available to the pursuit of truth; but a general society would answer all the purposes which that feigned universal science vainly aimed at, and from an inexhaustible well-head would send

copious refreshments over the whole region of knowledge. And it would not only revive and invigorate those societies which are already in being, but be instrumental in the formation of others wherever they are wanted, and leave no vacancy unsupplied, nor any position favourable for the discovery of truth unoccupied.

In the most civilized states there are strong remains of ancient barbarism, "*prisci vestigia ruris*," and in the most enlightened minds some scattered clouds of ancient ignorance. Though Bacon had the largest mind that ever was, and by a natural devination the most prophetic—and though, Janus-like, it looked both before and after, yet his regard was most brightly and ardently turned towards the future, and his communings were chiefly with things that were yet to be; nevertheless, he had not altogether cleared himself from the mire of the schoolmen, and he resembled the lion, described by Milton, but half animated and shaped from the original clay, and "with his hinder parts struggling to get free." Two of the greatest mistakes that he has made in his advancement of learning, consist in the places he has assigned, to what he terms the *prima philosophia* or universal science, and to metaphysics; yet the mistake proceeded from a laudable motive. "I doubt not," says Bacon, "but it will easily appear to men of judgment, that in this and other particulars, wheresoever my conception and notion may differ from the ancient, yet I am studious to keep the ancient terms. For, hoping well to de-

liver myself from mistaking, by the order and perspicuous expressing of that I do propound; I am otherwise zealous and affectionate to recede as little from antiquity, either in terms or opinions, as may stand with truth, and the proficiencie of knowledge." But the hope above expressed was ill-grounded, for neither was the order, as we shall show, commendable, nor the perspicuity remarkable, and Bacon was destined to exhibit a striking instance of the truth of his own excellent remark, that "although we think we govern our words, yet certain it is, that words, as a Tartar's bow, do shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest, and mightily entangle and pervert the judgment." His intention of retaining names and discarding things, is, for this reason, a principle more commendable in politics than in philosophy; but neither is it correct to say, that the terms in this case are retained, for metaphysics and *prima philosophia*, which Bacon himself asserts to have stood for the same imaginary science, are by him placed apart and appointed as the terms of two new and separate studies; thus, to the confusion occasioned by a change of things, is added the double confusion of a change of denominations, when not only the names are changed relatively to the things specified, but the terms are changed relatively to each other. A second error arises from Bacon having had terms to dispose of before he had subjects to which he could appropriate them; so that for the one term he is obliged to invent a science, and for the other to partition a science, ma-

king a distinction in it without a division ; for when he divides natural philosophy between physics and metaphysics, and makes “*physic* contemplate that which is inherent in matter, and therefore transitory, and metaphysics that which is abstracted and fixed,” he recedes from his own philosophy, and the theory to which he was inclined, namely the atomic, and passing from the school of Democritus to that of Aristotle, relapses into the imaginary “*form*” of thinking of the schoolmen, and the Stagyrite. But since, whatever we can discover of the interior form or laws of bodies, we must learn from their visible and external changes, what Bacon calls metaphysics, can no more be separated from physics than the end can be separated from the means, and conclusions from the facts on which they are founded ; there is a continuity in natural science which rejects this artificial and unnecessary distinction. Speaking of his *philosophia prima*, Bacon says, “because in a writing of this nature I avoid all subtilty, my meaning touching this original or universal philosophy is thus, in a plain and gross description by negative ; that it be a receptacle for all such profitable observations and axioms as fall not within the compass of any of the special parts of philosophy or sciences, but are more common, and of a higher stage. Now, that there are many of that kind need not to be doubted.” But it may very much be doubted ; all the examples which Bacon brings are puerile and futile ; they are either so true as to be truisms, as, “Is not the rule, *Si inæ-*

qualibus æqualia addas, omnia erunt inæqualia, an axiom as well of justice as of the mathematics?" or they are fantastic, as in the following query:—"Was not the Persian magic a reduction or correspondence of the principles and architecture of nature, to the rules and policy of governments?" Nor are the other examples he brings of more weight and value to his present purpose.

"In philosophy," Bacon observes, "the contemplations of man do either penetrate to God or are circumferred to nature, or are reflected or reverted upon himself. Out of which several inquiries, there do arise three knowledges, divine philosophy, natural philosophy, and human philosophy, or humanity. For all things are marked and stamped with this triple character, of the power of God, the difference of nature, and the use of man. But because the distributions and partitions of knowledge are not like several lines that meet in one angle, and so touch but in a point, but are like branches of a tree, that meet in a stem, which hath a dimension and quantity of entireness and continuance, before it come to discontinue and break itself into arms and boughs; therefore, it is good, before we enter into the former distribution, to erect and constitute one universal science by the name of philosophia prima, primitive or summary philosophy, as the main and common way, before we come where the ways part and divide themselves." That community in the sciences to which Bacon alludes, has a double foundation; it is either subjective or objective; it

either proceeds from the same instrument being applied to all studies, the mind and its powers ; and the rules of its conduct being the same to whatever pursuit they are directed ; or objectively from the universe, as being the work of one intelligence, and vestiges of the same Maker pervading it throughout ; but in neither case does this sameness or community give rise to separate science. What relates to the first appertains to true logic, or the science of conducting the human faculties in the search after truth ; what relates to the second either belongs to divinity, and proves the unity of the Godhead, and marks design in creation ; or when it exhibits traces and divinations of new discoveries, proceeding from the similarity which runs through every part of nature, it is again referrible to logic, and contributes its part to form some of those indicia which are to guide us in the progressive discovery of truth.—Perhaps too much is attributed by Bacon in the before-cited passage to the community of these three parts of knowledge. Instead of comparing the three divisions of science to the “branches of a tree that meet in the stem,” they might more justly be compared to stock shots, which meet only in a root, proceeding, indeed, from one source, and nourished by the same sap, but the connexion of which terminates almost as soon as they are discoverable. It thus appears, that there cannot be any universal science, separate or disjoined from all the rest, and yet the observations that Bacon applies to this imaginary science, on the supposition of

its existence, are exceedingly just. "Another error is, that after the distribution of particular arts and sciences, men have abandoned universality, or philosophia prima, which cannot but cease, and stop all progression. For no discovery can be made upon a flat or a level; neither is it possible to discover the more remote and deeper parts of any science, if you stand but upon the level of the same science, and ascend not to a higher science." Though a universal science or philosophia prima be imaginary and chimerical, and therefore cannot sustain the high offices which are assigned to it, yet a universal association of philosophers would more than supply its place, and would amply realize all those advantages which are pointed out by Bacon. That first philosophy, even if it existed, would be but a dead letter, and the passive receptacle of the general notions that were confided to it; but the general association would be a living spirit, and would not only retain and reflect the truths which it was its province to collect and embody, but would send them forth afresh in ever-living emanations.

OBJECTIONS TO ASSOCIATION.

IV. There can be only three objections to a general association, either that it is superseded by particular societies, or by general societies, such as the Royal Society, and the Academy of Sciences; or lastly, that it is visionary and impracticable. The first objection we have considered before, and it is sufficiently refuted by the above-cited observation of

Bacon, that "no discovery can be made upon a flat or a level."

There can be no doubt that the Royal Society, and the Institute, have been of essential use to the progress of science; and so far they are an excellent proof of the utility of associations formed for the advancement of knowledge. The observations of Laplace to this purport are very just.—*La Nature est tellement variée dans ses productions et dans ses phénomènes, il est si difficile d'en pénétrer les causes, que pour la connaître et la forcer à nous dévoiler ses lois, il faut qu'un grand nombre d'hommes réunissent leurs lumières et leurs efforts. Cette réunion devient surtout nécessaire, quand le progrès des sciences, multipliant leurs points de contact, et ne permettant plus à un seul homme de les approfondir toutes, elles ne peuvent recevoir que de plusieurs savans, les secours mutuels qu'elles se demandent.*"

It is from considering what these societies have already accomplished, and how far they are inferior in power and extension to the general society now proposed, that we shall be able to estimate the largeness of the benefits which the latter would confer. The old and established societies were of greatest utility at first when their numbers were smaller and more select, and when the difficulties of scientific intercourse were greater, and the method of induction being less followed, required to be established and diffused by a rallying point being afforded to its few and scattered followers. The fame and phi-

losophy of Bacon are much indebted to their efforts ; and the free unrestrained communication of sentiment promoted by them, had no doubt much effect in breaking down ancient theories, and in doing away remaining prejudices. But the more numerous the Royal Society became, the less intimate was the intercourse between its members ; and it was the less needful when the true method of experimenting was fixed on firm foundations, and illustrated by the brightest examples. Thus, while all great attainments and acquisitions continued to be the result of solitary labour and effort, the Royal Society became chiefly useful in giving the first intimation of new discoveries, in publishing at its expense papers, which, owing to the want of public patronage for abstract science, might have been lost ; and in preserving the shreds of investigations and the odds and ends of science in its miscellaneous transactions, which could not have found a place in a regular treatise. The French Academy had the advantage of remaining more select, and therefore of constituting a stricter bond of union among its limited members, and by the support which the government has afforded through its medium to abstract science, and by the brilliant results which have followed patronage, so wisely bestowed, it has reared an imperishable monument to the munificence of the state ; and while all the trophies of victory purchased by so much blood and treasure have been overthrown, the discoveries that have been made by a small expenditure, which was in-

deed a wise economy, will form a bright and enduring link in the destiny of man, as long as he is distinguished according to the description of the poet, by his lofty regard and his countenance raised towards the heavens. Yet the principal advantage which Laplace ascribes to these societies, they have realized very imperfectly, or at least very indirectly. “*Mais le principal avantage des académies, est l'esprit philosophique qui doit s'y introduire, et de là se répandre dans toute une nation, et sur tous les objets.*” They have never been formed upon a broad enough basis, nor have they themselves been sufficiently put in movement to communicate a wide and national impulse. It is only from the solitary labours of individual philosophers, and not from any joint efforts, that mankind have been enlightened and greatly improved, although these solitary works may be allowed to have received an indirect improvement from the intercourse and exchange of opinion, between men following the same scientific pursuits; but a universal society, not restricted to any defined path, but free to range over the whole field of knowledge; and not merely comparing opinions, and discussing what already had been discovered, but laying open all the deficiencies of knowledge, and proposing, by whatever aids could be procured, to carry on at once every part, and to give an accelerated movement to the whole, would have infinite advantages over the societies which now exist, however excellent they may be, but whose highest aim is to hear of new discoveries, and discuss their value,

and who must place the advancement of the body of science among the objects that are equally beyond their resources and their hopes.

The last objection is, that such a society is visionary and impracticable ; there is a large body of the same class with the critics of Columbus, who find every undertaking to be perfectly simple, as soon as it is accomplished, and altogether visionary, before it is effected ; with them, time is the only demonstrator, and to time they must be left. Probably an attempt to form a universal association might be premature at the present moment, but before another generation passes, such a society is likely to be in active operation. Since authority with most men is of more weight than truth, the following observations of Bacon, which combine both, are sufficient to refute the notion of the impossibility of such a society being formed, or of its attaining those objects in their full extent, which it is intended to effect. “I take it those things are to be held possible, which may be done by some person, though not by every one ; and which may be done by many, though not by any one ; and which may be done in succession of ages, though not within the hour-glass of one man’s life ; and which may be done by public designation, though not by private endeavour. But notwithstanding, if any man will take to himself rather that of Solomon, *Dicit piger, leo est in via*, than that of Virgil, *Possunt quia posse videntur* ; I shall be content that my labours be esteemed but as the better sort of wishes ;

for as it asketh some knowledge to demand a question not impertinent, so it requireth some sense to make a wish not absurd."

THE SURVEY OF SCIENCE.

V. The first object of a general association would be, to go over the same ground which has been traversed by Bacon, in his advancement of learning, and to form a complete survey of the existing state of science. Many of the objects pointed out in that work have been partially or completely attained; but still it is melancholy to observe, how many of the deficiencies there noted remain deficiencies still, and that large portions of the ample field he surveyed are lying as waste and neglected as when he found them and described them. No king has arisen with a mind large enough to conceive or execute the "Opera Basilica," which Bacon very unfortunately assigned to kings, if ever he wished them to be accomplished. Universities still "have a malign aspect and influence upon the growth of science," and notwithstanding King James's maxim, lauded by Bacon as most wise and princely, "that in all usages and precedents, the times must be considered wherein they first began; which, if they were weak and ignorant, it derogate from the authority of the usage and leaveth it for suspect," yet these unchangeable bodies still assert and amply vindicate their pedigree from the dark ages.

The very first work which Bacon proposed—A

literary history, may still be noted as deficient.—The part of it which has been most cultivated is that which enumerates the metaphysical opinions of the ancients; and yet I would prefer the brief notices of them which are to be found in the writings of Cicero, corrupted and infected as these notices are with the colouring and doubts of the academic philosophy, to all the other works that have been accumulated on the same subject. The earliest historians of metaphysics in modern times excelled in collecting the mass of opinions, and in separating it from the spirit of the ancient philosophy, which gave that mass its coherence: and the later writers of the same class, who are chiefly of the school of Kant, will not allow the Greeks to speak their own sentiments, but force them, at all hazards, to transcendentalize, as if one and all of them had spent his probationary year in solving the barbaric terminology of Kant.

But a literary history, unconfined to any particular branch of science, and enlarged to comprehend the whole progress of knowledge, joined to an enumeration of the causes that made knowledge progressive, has scarcely been attempted, and can never be well executed until the history of each branch is thoroughly digested and completed.—These observations apply to the commencement of Bacon's survey; but to go through the whole of it, and do it full justice, would be a work of itself; and in the variety of its topics ought to be assigned to a society rather than to an individual in this ad-

vanced stage of knowledge—when the parts are far separated, and a single life is not sufficient to obtain an intimate acquaintance with them all. In prosecuting a survey of the present state of knowledge, a universal association might find employment highly conducive to future discovery ; and a work which would give back the image of our present attainments would be the best preparation for entering upon a new untrodden path, stretching beyond the bounds of all that has been hitherto acquired.—Such a general survey would advance science by the very act of its being made ; the very stirring up of all its parts would conduce to their future productiveness, as the mere turning up of the soil augments its fertility and adds to the plenty of the ensuing harvest. Science, while it was surveyed, would be unintentionally enriched, and seeds that had long remained dormant in it, being brought to light, would immediately vegetate. What was already acquired would gain in value ; and the line would be clear and defined from which others must depart to obtain fresh accessions. A society having possessed this vantage ground, would have a clear view of its present resources and future prospects ; and occupying the outlets to fresh discoveries, might advance at pleasure in whatever direction it chose. But the great advantage in this survey would be the noting of all the defects, and the exposure of whatever was weak, unfinished, or ill-accomplished, and the impression that would be broadly and strongly given, that much remained to be done before know-

ledge attained to its fair and just proportions; for every discovery has been preceded by a want being previously felt. Without this feeling, inventions, even if presented to observation, would not be attended to or would be soon forgotten. Necessity, in this sense, has truly been the mother of all inventions; but society has many wants without being generally sensible of them; and hence the advantage of these wants being brought strongly and repeatedly into notice. It is one of the best maxims of Bacon, that the opinion of plenty is among the causes of want; and it would be doing good service to this age, elated like Alcibiades with the extent of its possessions, to point out how small a portion these possessions occupy in the universal map of knowledge, and in the newly-awakened sense of its limited attainments, the general mind would receive a constant stimulus to strengthen those parts of science which are weak, and to supply those that are wanting.

REVIEW OF THE PAST.

VI. After making the survey of the present state of science, the next object of a general association would be, to make a review of the past; and this work would have chiefly two purposes: First, to narrate the history and causes of inventions and advancements; and, secondly, to recover if possible the lost arts of the ancients. Few works of labour would be more conducive to farther advancement than “a calendar resembling an inventory of

the estate of man, of all the inventions which are now extant, out of which doth naturally result a note, what things are yet held impossible or not invented." And this is the only foundation for an art and method of inventing, to observe the foot-prints of those who have gone before, and from the revelations of the past to take divinations for the future. Every part and process of the method of a successful inquirer is important; the approximations of others, the previous state of science which led him to the brink of discovery, the slight signs and intimations which he followed, and his peculiar habits of thought, all deserve to be registered and noticed. Such a work would, in some measure, fulfil the object of Bacon, in proposing a literary history; and the method of inventions, added to the record of inventions, would not only be a treasury of knowledge, it would be the science and art of farther discovery.

The second object in a review of antiquity would be, the recovery, as far as possible, of the lost knowledge of the ancients, by sifting their very dust, by extracting, from the most mutilated fragments of their writings, the slightest indications of arts that have disappeared, and extorting, by painful investigation, every secret of their excellence, of their genius, their policy, and their prosperity. Surely, if the time is not mis-spent in re-constructing the prosody of the ancients—in restoring particles which scarcely affect the sound, and in no-wise the sense—in leading a laborious life in minute

verbal criticism, and restoring expletives which the author uttered and wrote almost unconsciously, the efforts of learned men would not be misemployed in discovering in what respects our predecessors availed themselves more amply of the bounty of nature than we do, and excelled us in ingenuity and art. If, instead of recovering a few lost letters, they could recover more of the spirit and of the inspiration—the living soul of so many immortal works, and could ascend still higher to the genius of the nation,—the spirit pervading a whole people, from which the genius of individuals derived its strength and its magic ; the public ought to hold itself not less their debtor. It is surprising how feeble the endeavours have been to dig up these, the most precious of the buried treasures of antiquity, and how many valuable hints lie scattered and useless, which, if concentrated, might be aiding to science, and embellish anew the decorations of art. Nothing of this kind, if possible, should be lost, when an invention has been discarded, from the end which it sought to obtain being reached with more powerful means ; that very invention, after the lapse of ages, if not forgotten, might have come again into use for a new end, not dreamed of at the time it was neglected. It was thus that the polished mirrors of metal by which the Roman beauties adorned themselves were thrown aside, and the art of polishing them so highly, disused and forgotten by those who could not foresee the use which they would one day have been of to the astro-

nomer in reflecting the brightness of the heavens. Beckman's History of inventions is but a very imperfect attempt to supply the deficiency of the work before proposed ; but if made a text book, to which any additional or miscellaneous observation might be added occasionally, and at their leisure, by those versant in the writings of antiquity, a very considerable collection of materials, and all mutually connected, as bearing upon the same treatise, would be obtained without any premeditated design, or any continued trouble. It however, must be owned, the second part of this review of antiquity would not be of equal importance with the first, and that researches of the kind, though not without their advantage, are more likely to gratify curiosity than to be highly productive of utility ; for the present age has little to learn from the ancients in the proficiency of manufactures and of arts ; and the stream of time, and the changes of human affairs, have carried us far off from the spirit of their laws and governments, and from the genius of their literature.

SCIENTIFIC TRAVELLERS.

VII. A third resource for advancing knowledge, is the employment of scientific travellers ; it is amazing how little we know of the countries that immediately surround us. They are always supposed to be known, and therefore, we know little about them. Much more distinct information may be had in voyages and travels, concerning distant and barbarous lands, no doubt a little heightened by ima-

gination; but still the picture of these, though overcharged, is more useful than the indistinct view, and the feeble impression which is given us by the trite accounts we receive of our nearer neighbours. It is amid discussions respecting turnips and fallows, vine-dressing, and olive culture, that we obtain the best view which we can acquire of the external aspect of France, in the Minute Agricultural Tour of Young; and it is from their own lighter works that we get the best insight into the manners and genius of the French, though in this case we may question with the lion in the fable, whether a different painter would not have made a considerable difference in the picture; and while tourists through neighbouring countries write as vaguely as if they had travelled by moonlight, the splendid work of Bruce, indulging too much in the license allowed to a poet, but correct in the general outline, gives back the scenery of Africa with a vividness and prominence which ever abides in the recollection. Every corner of Europe would afford copious materials to the scientific traveller, by whom it was thoroughly investigated. Holland, which at first sight is sufficient to throw a sentimental or picturesque traveller into despair, would afford excellent gleanings and highly useful information, and a country upon which there is scarcely above one respectable tour, would almost enrich any nation that studied and copied the method of management and economy which runs throughout their public and private affairs, and makes Holland, both physically

and morally, the creature of a patience and perseverance without an example, and of a cool and calculating prudence that has seldom or never been rivalled. Naturally men of most talents seek for a new and unexplored field, and leave others to re-iterate upon the same beaten but ill-defined track ; and it thus requires the exertions and the patronage of a society to hold out sufficient inducement for the thorough investigation of countries easy of access, and, therefore, difficult to be made interesting. A residence also in the countries to be visited is as necessary as a fresh and unoccupied eye ; and he must combine both, who is to give a just description of the country, and an accurate acquaintance with the mode of life, the literature, the aspect of nature, and all the details requisite to form a true picture, which, unless it possess the characteristic features, will not only be deficient, but erroneous. Every region has its riches of mind, as well as its peculiar riches of nature—some field of science better cultivated, or some aptitude for peculiar employments, and has amassed, during the course of years, many observations which have been neglected by others. However little suspected of originality by its neighbours, each has its own point of vision which presents to it surrounding objects in new attitudes or aspects ; and the stranger who becomes master of its literature receives not only an accession of new thoughts, but possesses a new medium of intellectual vision ; and even though the harvest to be gathered in each country were

scanty, the materials when collected from them all, would amount to a large mass of information ; and by its variety, as well as its novelty, would enrich and excite the mind of the country that received it. This series of observations would receive facile and natural additions ; each country incited by example, would send forth its own observers, and all would lend their peculiar national turn of thought to give zest and originality to their varied observations.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

VIII. A fourth resource for promoting science is closely connected with the former, and would consist in the establishment of a correspondence between the learned of all nations. It would be one of the first requisites to furnish the scientific traveller with strong recommendations to the men of science, in the countries which he was about to visit, and as he received from each of them the information peculiar to their lands, and gave in return every useful intelligence respecting his own, there would result from their intercourse an interchange and commerce, which would give rise in either country to a corresponding society, in order to render that scientific intercourse perpetual. This accession of minds co-operating in the same work, would multiply the advancements, and the resources of all ; for it is discovery which frequently produces discovery, and the sense of advancing which makes that advancement more rapid and continuous ; a noble and blameless emulation would arise

among men, too far separated for petty and individual jealousies, and nations would measure their strength, not in fields of battle, but in contests for enlarging the inheritance of humanity; not for the sovereignty of some small district, but for rendering mankind at large the sovereigns of the powers of nature, and the masters of the elements. When the inventive powers of one nation began to flag, and when one set of truths—for truths, like the stars, are clustered together in constellations,—had been discovered, and the mind, satiate with success, and resting in what had already been done, was slow in shooting athwart the intervening vacancy and darkness, for new lights that would appear beyond it, other nations would resume the search, and enter into fresh regions of discovery; while, as is fabled of the flight of the cranes, those that are foremost might successively retire for repose to the rear, and yet the whole body might continue to stretch forward without stooping to the earth their interminable flight. In this manner, and with such a correspondence between its parts, Europe could alone derive all the advantages to be obtained from a number of separate nations, concurring in the same career, without the inconvenience of the slow transmission of knowledge from one to another, occasioned by the difference of language, and the separation of interest.

IMPROVED ELEMENTS OF SCIENCE.

IX. A fifth advantage would arise to science, from giving the stock of knowledge we at present possess the simplest and most condensed arrangement. How is it that one age in the natural career of improvement outstrips another? This advancement does not merely consist in the difference of time and trouble required for learning or discovering, but in the natural process, by which the mind reduces the truths it learns to the simplest form, throws off every thing extraneous from the method of arriving at truth, and instead of the various tentatives by which the discoverer groups his way into an unexplored region, takes the well-known and certain road to the term it wishes to arrive at.

This employment of reducing truth to its elements, which is perhaps the most useful occupation of the mind, has been one of the most neglected. No doubt the understanding, by an instinctive process, facilitates its own labours, and does imperfectly, and unscientifically for itself, what might be performed in a short period, with certainty, and for ever, if done with intention, and accomplished upon a scientific plan. But the progress of knowledge would be greatly accelerated, if the discovery of truth should immediately be followed, by the attempt to reduce the truth discovered into its due place in the order of science, as well as into its most elementary form. It is not to be expected that the discoverer should take this office upon

himself; the turn of his mind is naturally leading him continually forward; the heat of discovery throws a magnifying mist over his inventions; and his self-love would reluctantly admit, that what is so identified with himself should be reduced to its just dimensions; but there is a second order of heads, to use the classification of Hesiod, and Machiavel, who if not inventive of truth, are receptive of truth; who are capable of soundness of judgment, and of that fineness of taste which even abstract science requires of those who would give it its best and fairest proportions. This is a work which many are equal to, and which is no unpleasing, though, compared with the effort of thought in discovery, an unlaborious exercise of the mind, and which is attended with more lasting reputation than falls to the share of many original works, and certainly with more immediate and diffusive utility. But, though it may seem an easy task to reduce truth to its simplest form, yet there are only two elementary works which may be considered as models, Euclid's Elements, and Paley's Evidences of Christianity, which are perfect in their several kinds, and bid defiance to all rivalship; and though these possess less originality than most other writings that aspire to any eminence, yet are they destined to outlive many works, which have a much larger share of admiration bestowed upon them at the present moment, and are secure, as far as it is possible for any human performance to be so, of immortality. There could be no greater benefit

conferred upon knowledge, than the producing elementary works of equal merit in the different branches of science ; and while they would form the taste of the student, and facilitate his labour, they would in an equal degree incite the discoverer to farther advancement, by the sense of the ground being well secured and cleared behind him. Great is the benefit that a general association would confer towards the advancement of knowledge, by inciting a mathematician to give to the elements of fluxions the same justness of proportion which Euclid has given to the elements of geometry ; and though the proceedings of geometry have a more visible beauty than is allowed to the hidden processes of the sister branch of mathematics, yet the elements of the analysis might excel the Grecian work in two particulars—in the philosophy of the mathematics, which the earlier age of Euclid denied to him ; and in marking, more distinctly, the salient points, by which the elements pass on to the more advanced portions of science.

IMPROVED METHOD OF SCIENCE.

X. The next object of a general association, after perfecting the elements of the sciences, would be to perfect the sciences themselves, and to supply each of them with the aid which their peculiar deficiencies require. Some of the sciences have shot up with such luxuriance, that the head is almost too heavy for the trunk to sustain. Others have straggled into an infinity of branches without forming a main stem. And others, not having taken deep

root, nor being firmly grounded, are liable to be overturned with every breath of opinion. The higher branches of mathematical investigation, according to the avowal of Laplace, have become so diversified that they demand a division of intellectual labour, and are no longer completely the province of a single mind, and the later refinements of analysis have shot out far beyond the present wants of physical science ; they form a triumphant display of the powers of human genius, but are barren of benefits to human nature, and in their airy and unrestrained flight have left far behind them the boundaries of the visible world. Yet the observation of Laplace is incontrovertible. “*Que la Découverte la plus stérile en apparence, peut avoir un jour des suites importantes,*” and it is certainly not by limiting the highest excursions of genius, but by keeping up an open and easier communication between the lower and the loftier paths of science, that the inconvenience of this abundant productiveness can best be remedied. It was not unnatural in regarding the abstruseness of the higher analysis, and its thin and impalpable essence, to have some doubts whether, ethereal as it was, it would ever come to be mingled in the purposes of actual life, and interwoven in the grosser web of human affairs, and we might be inclined to assign its abstracted refinements to some quiet and intermundane spaces along with the deities of Lucretius,

“*Semota a nostris rebus sejunctaque longe.*”

It was probably in a similar spirit of meditation, that Diderot imagined that the analytical writings of D'Alembert, and his mathematical contemporaries, would be a sealed book to the ages that followed them. "We approach the moment of a great revolution in the sciences, from the leaning which minds appear to have to moral philosophy, belles lettres, the history of nature, experimental physics, &c. &c. I dare almost be positive that before a century pass, there will not be reckoned three great geometers in Europe ; that science will stop short where the Bernouillis, the Eulers, Maupertuis, Clairauts, and D'Alemberts have left it. They will have reared the pillars of Hercules. None will go beyond them—their works will remain in the ages to come, like the pyramids of Egypt, whose masses, covered with hieroglyphics, awaken in us an overwhelming idea of the power and the resources of the men who raised them."

But instead of this lamentable prophecy being accomplished, the Lagranges and the Laplaces have gone as far beyond the Clairauts and the D'Alemberts, as they outstripped their analytical predecessors ; and space, free and infinite, presents itself as unbounded to their successors to tempt them to flights still more distant and supramundane ; and the higher they ascend the better, provided there be others at intermediate stages to keep up the communication between them and the earth, as the vultures which bask one above another, invisible in the heights of the air, observe and follow the flight

of the lower, and appear instantaneously, as if by enchantment, in flocks upon the field of action.

Chemistry has run into an opposite extreme from that noticed in mathematics, it abounds in facts, but wants a binding link to connect them,—it is the object of science to reduce the multifarious appearances of nature to simplicity and order ; but chemistry has almost relapsed into the state of nature, and its phenomena are almost as various and unclassified as those which the material world presents to an ignorant observer. In this way, experimental chemistry might squander itself away by its own fertility, and either it will damp all inquiry by the copiousness of its instances, and the paucity of its general results, or it is on the eve of disclosing a theory, which will introduce order and arrangement among its wide and far-scattered experiments. A general society would be highly useful at this moment, by combining the exertions of all the chemists to bring the atomic theory to the test, and to institute that multitude of experiments which are necessary either to prove its truth, and to remove all the remaining objections that might be urged against it, or to overturn it altogether, which it is not probable would be the case ; or so to modify it, as that its terms should express the general law which all the minute changes of bodies obey.

Mineralogy, on the other hand, is as deficient in facts, as chemistry is abundant in them ; and though this want is in course of being removed, yet a general association might be beneficial in affording the

encouragement and the pecuniary supplies requisite for making those very extended observations, which are the only foundation of a solid system of geology. With great geniuses it is a matter of mere amusement and relaxation from severe studies, to describe the formation of the world; and though often grossly mistaken with respect to the commonest productions of nature, they have their revenge in being quite clear and explicit as to what took place some millions of years ago. One of the theories of the earth owes its origin to the appearances of the basaltic rocks in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and Werner, though he had an enlarged acquaintance with mineralogy, chiefly drew his knowledge of the interior of the globe from the "vast deep" of the mines of Saxony. If either of these theories possessed any great share of truth, it would be a singular instance of an hypothesis built in its origin upon a few facts, being large and wide enough to embrace all the phenomena of a science. Werner undoubtedly was a mineralogist, and has laid the foundations of that branch of the science, but whether he was the geologist or not, must be left to time and observation to determine.

After considering the state of particular sciences, and affording to each the aid which it seemed especially to require, an improvement bearing upon all the sciences would consist in the improved delivery of knowledge, according to the remarks of Bacon. "He that delivereth knowledge desireth to deliver it in such a form as may be best believed, and not

as may be best examined : and he that receiveth knowledge, desireth rather present satisfaction than expectant inquiry ; and so rather not to doubt, than not to err. Glory making the author not to lay open his weakness, and sloth making the disciple not to know his strength. But knowledge that is delivered as a thread to be spun on, ought to be delivered and intimated if it were possible in the same method wherein it was invented."

"For it is in knowledges as it is in plants, if you mean to use the plant, it is no matter for the roots ; but if you mean to remove it to grow, then it is more assured to rest upon roots than slips ; so the delivery of knowledge, as it is now used, is as of fair bodies of trees without the roots, good for the carpenter but not for the planter. But if you will have sciences to grow, it is less matter for the shaft or body of the tree, so you look well to the taking up of the roots."

Not that it is desirable that all the unfruitful tentatives of an inquirer after truth should be noted down, or even that all the circuits of the way that ended in a successful search, should be described ; but since the two methods of investigating truth, and of communicating truth, have each their separate advantages—the first being long and laborious, but invigorating and productive, the other being easy, and applicable to immediate uses, but more sterile of farther acquisitions—it is desirable to ingraft upon the latter method as much of the former as will bring the mind of the reader to the border

of new discoveries, and almost place him in the attitude of invention ; and while the elements of the sciences should present vistas at each turn into their highest departments, the sciences themselves should offer easy and frequent outlets into the unknown regions of unexplored truth beyond them.

It is the most common of all mistakes to run from one extreme into another. The reasoning powers of the ancients were strong, in proportion as their powers of observation were weak and neglected. It was their misfortune to begin with great diligence at the wrong end of inquiry, and to run up immense piles of philosophy before they had provided them with a foundation. Modern inquirers are well aware of this error of their predecessors, their powers of observation are keen and exercised, but their powers of reasoning and inference are limited and comparatively inert ; it is now that the vigour and excursiveness of the ancient philosophers might be turned to great account, when they would have something firmer than air to build their theories upon, and when the activity of their genius might find large occupation in reducing the facts already discovered into order. “ *L'Esprit Humain*,” says Laplace, “ si actif dans la formation des systèmes, a souvent attendu que l'observation et l'expérience lui aient fait connaître d'importantes vérités que le simple raisonnement eut pu lui faire découvrir. C'est ainsi que l'invention du télescope a suivi de plus de trois siècles, celle des verres lenticulaires, et n'a même été due qu'au hasard.” In

the present state of knowledge, the exercise of an inquisitive and powerful reason, 'remodelling and arranging the facts that are already ascertained, and tracing the analogies that run through the different sciences, as the veins that lead to and are united with a rich mine of discovery, would operate like the introduction of a new element into science, and would teem with varied combinations and new results. Could the Germans free themselves from the trammels of Kant, and overcome their dread of the degradation of receiving any assistance from fact and experiment, and come down from those aerial heights, where, like the footless fowl of Indian fable, they have had their dwelling-place for ages without touching the earth, there is no doubt that their transcendent genius would augment the scientific possessions of Europe with additions only inferior to printing, and the formation of gunpowder, which the Teutonic race discovered, and made generally known, if they did not originally invent.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE ARTS.

XI. After the improvement of the sciences, the next object that presents itself is the improvement of the arts, which are older than the first in the order of time, but derive from them in the order of nature, and ought to grow with their growth and strengthen with their strength; the mutual prosperity of both depends upon their being brought into perpetual contact, and each is in the most vigorous condition when assisted by or assisting the other,

art being most flourishing when it is nourished by science, and science often the most progressive, when it is ministering to the wants of art. Hence the utility of encouraging a class of philosophers, whose main object it should be to make the communications more frequent and patent between both,—who should ever be wakeful to make the newest discoveries of science immediately subservient to art, or to make the wants of art felt by philosophers, in order that they may be the sooner remedied. Doubtless scientific men, in the course of their researches, have ever a view to their possible application and uses ; and, on the other hand, those who are engaged in the processes of the arts, have their attention turned to the assistance which they may receive from any new additions to knowledge, and both classes of men are benefitted by this mutual observation and commerce ; yet it is evident that the benefits would be enhanced if the intercourse between them were methodised, and maintained constant and unceasing, and if the connexion between these two powers were more intimate and permanent, through whose union so many blessings are entailed upon mankind.

The improvement of the arts is essentially necessary to Britain ; and it is only from her precedence in these that she can hope to keep her present rank among the nations. If there is any one principle ascertained by the events of history, it is this, that the extent of population, territory, and wealth requisite for predominance, is ever proceeding upon

an increased scale ; the republics of Greece and Rome would never have attained eminence amidst the powerful neighbours which now surround their countries, or have made any impression upon the world, as it is constituted at the present day. Individual energy and national character have from age to age less weight in the political balance ; and victory is less subject to the fortunes of Cæsar than to the rules of arithmetic. An insular situation prevents that incorporation of territory upon which all empire proceeds ; and without a very powerful moral cause operating as a check upon physical laws, all islands must in the end follow the fate of the neighbouring continent,—the dreams of military domination which the commonwealth's men cherished for this country, and the plans which they laid for its succeeding to the inheritance and empire of Rome, could no longer be realized ; nor does the remark of Harrington continue to hold good, that “ the situation of these countries being islands (as appears by Venice, how advantageous such a one is to the like government) seems to have been designed by God for a commonwealth. And yet Venice, through the straitness of the place and defect of proper arms, can be no more than a commonwealth for preservation ; whereas this, reduced to the like government, is a commonwealth for increase, and upon the mightiest foundation that any has been laid from the beginning of the world to this day.

*Illam arctâ capiens Neptunus compede stringit :
Hanc autem glaucis captus complectitur ulnis.*

The sea gives law to the growth of Venice, but the growth of Oceana gives law to the sea." But the state of the continent is completely altered since the time of Harrington, when the states of Christendom neither knew their own strength, nor how to employ that portion of it which they put forth to the utmost advantage. Now, if all the disposable forces of Britain were directed against any one of the greater nations of Europe, that nation might assert, as the Greeks did of the Trojans, that if the mercenaries were excluded, and the rest of the army made prisoners, every tenth man would not be possessed of a captive. While the population of the United States is doubling itself in less than twenty-five years, and that of Russia perhaps, in about half a century ; England, which will no longer admit of such a corresponding increase, must seek to make its own resources available, by the superior skill with which it can wield them.

There is nothing so conducive to excellence as the necessity of excelling ; and, as it must become more and more obvious to the country at large, that the safety as well as the glory of England, must depend on her outstripping the rest of the world in the career of improvement, it will be no hazardous prophecy to foretell, that the advancement of Britain in the arts, during the next fifty

years, will far surpass any that has ever yet been witnessed.

It would be difficult to point out any branch of art which does not tend to the prosperity of our country ; those, which in appearance are most remote in their influence, however indirectly, yet effectually contribute to the perfection of its manufactures. The pursuits of immediate utility, and of refined pleasure, however far separated from each other, alike combine in exalting the national welfare. It is not necessary, in recommending the fine arts to public patronage, to point out how far they improve and recommend to other nations the productions of manufactures, since they have higher and more direct claims upon the national encouragement. Still their advancement, and above all, their diffusion, become of high importance in a country, which aims like Britain, to be, and ever to continue, the centre and heart of trade and manufactures. A general association might have much in its power in affording facilities for the improvement of the fine arts, in extending a taste for them, and in increasing the patronage which they receive. It must be owned, however, that it is not the want of a certain degree of encouragement which causes the fine arts to languish in this country, but the want of a public demand, and a nobler employment for them ; the only effectual remedy would be to find a substitute for the idolatry of paganism and popery ; and the best patrons of living artists would be a se-

cond Omar and Amrou, who should commit to the flames the works of the old masters.

It is to be regretted that so many British works, which vie with the Roman in magnitude, and surpass them in utility, should fall so far short of them in magnificence and ostentation. Without any disrespect to Roman greatness, the canals of England as works of public utility, may well be compared with the Roman ways, yet these water roads, which are branched throughout every part of England, do not strike the mind like the roads of the Romans, the emblems of their own conquests, which surmount those obstacles from which the moderns turn aside, and stretch forward in one unbending straight line towards their destined end. The Mole which protects the navy of Britain against the tides, rivals in the massiveness of its structure, and surpasses in the difficulty of its erection, the Pyramids of the Pharaohs; but, while its greatness is concealed by the waves, whose force it breaks, it will never vie in the imagination with those imperishable piles, which are outlined against the cloudless sky of Egypt. It is, therefore, to be wished, that a general association should encourage the erection of fabrics, corresponding to the greatness of the nation which reared them, and that there should be some monuments, towering above the flux and waste of ages, which might be to the eye what the epochs of the chronologists are to the mind, the mementos of past events, beacons eminent and radiant above the flood of time.

Pre-eminent among the other arts, and far surpassing them all, agriculture ought to occupy the especial attention of a general society, since by its rise every thing else is raised, and by its improvement the whole of life becomes progressive. Agriculture undoubtedly has received greater additions during the last thirty years, than during any preceding century of its improvement,—and yet means much more efficacious than any hitherto used, might be adopted for its speedier advancement. The improvement it has already received is owing to the surveys of its different processes, in different districts, and to a comparison and choice of their separate advantages being made,—but these processes were mostly empirical, instituted upon no enlarged or scientific views, and in their origin, mere blind and groping tentatives, after the most productive method of management.

In farming there has been no regular or arranged plan of instruction; one generation of agriculturists has received the traditions of the preceding one, and added its own occasional observations; while science has only come lately and feebly to their assistance; and a study, where, from the number of non-essential circumstances entering into its various processes, selection is most requisite, has been received and handed down in the gross, and with small rejection of what was trivial and unimportant. The only remedy for this, and the best instrument for farther advancement, would be a model and central institution, combined with a

model farm, where those who intend to pursue agriculture as a profession, might receive the best education which the present state of the art, and the present state of the sciences, which are applicable to it, would admit ; and where they might see the crude suggestions which are thrown out for its farther proficiencie, brought to the test of actual experiment, and might themselves be instructed in a better method of experimenting, and a more systematic plan of inquiry. If country gentlemen would encourage such institutions by small annual contributions, instead of attempting to become practical farmers themselves, under pretence of encouraging agriculture, in which pursuit they can only serve as beacons, being destitute of all other classes of that first requisite of the agricultural character, a rigorous parsimony, they would contribute at the same time, in the surest manner, to the increase of their personal fortunes, and to the augmentation of the prosperity of their country. The art of ameliorating the soil would every where leave traces of its progress throughout our land, as the deities of eastern fable manifested their presence by sudden flowers, and a fresher verdure springing up beneath their feet.

Horticulture, which may be considered as a more concentrated agriculture, acting in a narrower space, with more refined and subtle means, would admit of a similar improvement, and that delightful art would still more vary and multiply its magic, realizing in its small enclosures the fables of the

fortunate islands and the golden age, where spring and autumn held a united empire, and fruit was ripening at every season of the year.

IMPROVEMENT OF LIFE.

XII. As the sciences administer to the arts, so ought the arts to be helpful and aiding to the manifold purposes of life ; and the improvement of its comforts and accommodations would naturally follow the perfecting of the arts, since these bear the same relation to household uses and conveniences, which the sciences bear to them. The diffusing of the arts and making them popular, the spreading every improvement, through every gradation of society, would be the crowning undertaking of an association, which had for its object the amelioration of mankind, and which, in raising the lowest, would raise along with it every other rank in the social scale. Society has never yet been thoroughly stirred by any renovating spring, and the genial influences that have come over it have penetrated slowly and languidly into the soil,—however wide the illumination might have been, it bore no greater proportion to the mass that remained unenlightened, than the surface of the ocean, which is stirred by the breeze, and radiant with the sunshine, does to the depth of waters which remain dark and unmoved beneath it. The discoveries which are the property of the higher class in one age, descend indeed to the lower, but slowly and imperfectly ; and there is ample opportunity and scope for ac-

celerating the general diffusion of knowledge and inventions among all classes of the community. Even in the most civilized countries the mass of the nation have been suffered to remain comparatively barbarians; and it will be the dawn of a new and happier era, when the condition of the multitude is considered with that interest which is due to those, the sum of whose joys and sorrows are to all that is felt by the rest of the community, what the ocean is to the drops of rain that fall into it. It is thus too, that knowledge, by being made common, is made permanent; the advancement of a whole nation is secured against decay, and the enlightened customs and practices of the people are the best and most stable depositaries of knowledge.

GENERAL SOCIETY.

XIII. But a task has already been assigned larger, it may be thought, than any society is likely to accomplish: a task sufficient to have broken the rest of the slumbrous deities of Lucretius.

"Nam (proh sancta Deum tranquilla pectora pace
Quæ placidum degunt ævum, vitamque serenam!)
Quis regere immensi summam, quis habere profundi
Indu manu validas potis est moderanter habenas,
Omnibus inque locis esse omni tempore præsto?"

But notwithstanding the unmanageable appearance of the work proposed, when viewed as a whole, the seeming difficulty vanishes when each part is considered as distinct from the rest, and like the untied bundle of rods, the mastery over each

would speedily be gained. A voluntary society, unconstrained in all its movements, having no boundary fixed to its growth, could, in the course of its enlargement, attain to ends, however immense and distant, and having no impediment to the number of its subdivisions, could descend and overtake objects however numerous and minute. The freedom of voluntary combination would allow it to choose the point from which it might proceed; and wherever it began is immaterial, provided that from its expansiveness and native energy, it spread over the whole field of action, leaving no situation unoccupied, as it rose in its accumulated strength, and multiplied its confluent resources. As it advanced in power and numbers, its centre of attraction and sphere of activity would enlarge along with it, and in the end would encircle every element of success, and combine every resource of varied assistance. Two or three individuals might commence with the purpose of lending their aid to any one portion of science, and with the intention of gradually admitting others to join them, who were inclined to pursue a similar path of benevolent exertion; their objects of pursuit might increase in exact proportion with the increase of their numbers, and each department of knowledge in succession might be taken possession of, as one party after another advanced to cover the ground, and to enter upon the same line of operation.

Every object may be attained by a society which, in its original constitution, provides for an unlimited

augmentation of numbers, and has the power of casting these into every variety of form and subdivision, and is thus capable, from its greatness as a whole, of overpowering every obstacle ; and from its minute divisibility of out-numbering by its separable parts all the objects which have claims upon its attention.

In this plan, the wide field of knowledge would be divided into manageable portions, each individual would have allotted to him his own favourite walk of science, and would proceed to discovery along a well-known and often frequented path : while the attention of some were occupied by adding to the comfort of the peasantry, by throwing out hints on cottage architecture, and studying the economy of food and fuel, others might point out better methods of parochial education, or add to the usefulness or extension of village libraries ; while some gave their support to the diffusion of schools of arts, in which mechanics might be taught the principles of their own empirical practice, others might point out the application of science to agriculture, and induce the co-operation of landed proprietors and farmers in the appointment of a model institution and a model farm ; while some drew a larger proportion of private wealth to the encouragement of the fine arts, and to the promotion of science, others by their influence, or their representations, might extend the public patronage to those writings and monuments, which would add new lustre to their country ; and all would combine

by a simultaneous effort, to recover what was lost, to complete what was defective, to supply what was wanting, to remove every impediment, to appropriate every assistance, and to impel society, by every possible means, along a rapid course of continual improvement.

ITS INFLUENCE OVER GOVERNMENT.

XIV. Nor would such a society be confined to its own private resources; by the extent of its operations it would acquire the power of occupying the public mind, and through it, of obtaining the assistance, and in some degree the pecuniary aid of government. Few rulers have had the wisdom of patronising, in an efficient manner, literature, or of supporting men of genius, and assisting them in the pursuit of their studies; few have perceived the economy of gaining over to their side the mind of the age, as the cheapest, and the easiest, as well as the noblest road to power. Yet however blind they may be to merit, or unconscious of the aid which the friendship of superior talents can confer, they are not inaccessible to applications for favour, nor insensible of the pleasure of bestowing money, without any personal sacrifice, nor unambitious of the honours of patronage. In the contests between two factions for the occupation of the first places of the state, the influence of literature may be overlooked, and its claims unheeded, yet neither of them would be willing to give up all pretensions to the knowledge or to the patronage of literature. Both

parties might easily be brought to vie with each other in munificence to men of letters, and in liberal grants to science from the public purse, when they found that their own weight in public opinion depended considerably on favouring or neglecting the genius of the country. A sum infinitely small when compared with the general expenditure, might far outstrip whatever ancient or modern Mecænases have done in their favour and love of letters; and government itself would be strengthened in the opinion of the public, by conciliating towards it the supporting voice of men of talents, who are not ungrateful, but rather somewhat venal and abundant in their praises. It is indeed a wonderful oversight in princes, amidst their feverish thirst for notoriety and fame, that they seek it not where it is most easily and abundantly to be found, in the applauses of pensioned men of genius, which though seen through by the present age, will yet, to a certain degree, pass current with posterity, and obtain for them an apotheosis in the recollections of distant times, while the meanness of their real characters, and even their crimes, are forgotten. Posterity joins in aiding this delusion upon itself; while benefited by the munificence, and not suffering from the miseries which were the portion of a former age, they look upon the betrayers and tyrants of their country as the benefactors of their species, who have injured indeed one generation, but have multiplied the enjoyments of all succeeding ones; and who, now that they are divested of mortality, seem alike the

presiding spirits of science and of song. It is thus that the historian and the philosopher is contented to forget crimes by which he is not injured, and to be grateful for pleasures which he may hourly taste ; while reading the verses of Virgil and of Horace, or the splendid fictions of the east, he turns aside his view from the parricide, and the liberticide, and sees only the emperor, who dazzles less with his jewels than with the gems of genius with which he has surrounded himself, and forgets the real history of Octavius and Chosroes, for the imaginary glories of Augustus and Noushirwan.

ITS INFLUENCE OVER EUROPE.

XV. A new source of influence would arise in the general direction which the mind of Europe would receive by any one country taking the lead in patronising knowledge, and inducing its government to confer honours and emoluments on the pursuit of science. This enlarged patronage, and these honours and emoluments, from the very nature and end of them, would not be confined to the subjects of one country, but would be diffused upon all who contributed by their genius, and their discoveries, to benefit human nature ; and it is not to be supposed that other governments would remain passive and indifferent spectators of rewards conferred by foreigners upon their own subjects, for benefits to mankind at large, but would be stirred up to imitate the same example, and be ambitious likewise of the reputation of being favourers of knowledge.

From this source of useful emulation, talents and science would acquire a new rank, and new influence on European Society ; and the encouragement of letters and inventions would be considered one of the most imperative duties of policy, an essential part of the kingly character, and the chief spring of national greatness. If a small portion of what has been expended in wars, or even in one campaign, by any one state in Christendom, had been set apart as a literary fund, and merely the interest of it devoted to the attainment of scientific objects, and to the incitement and support of learning, the sciences would have worn a very different face in that country ; and its superiority in power, from its superiority in knowledge, would have greatly exceeded in value any acquisition of territory obtained by arms. It is strange, amid the profusion and idle waste of national resources by which so many countries are characterised, that so few drops of the scattered showers of plenty have lighted upon science. Had half the energies which have been wasted in mutual destruction, and in spreading wide the desolations of war, been put forth in extorting her secret treasures from nature, and subduing the material world to the service and behest of man, Europe by this time would have resembled a garden, and all the rest of the world would have become European. Had only one country devoted itself to the pursuit of knowledge, and sought the aggrandisement of peace in preference to that of the sword, that country would have become the

Athens of modern times ; and, compared to it, the other nations of Europe would have appeared but as hordes of barbarians.

ADVANTAGES OF SCIENCE TO RELIGION.

XVI. It is not only for the temporal advantages which science brings in her train that her advancement is desirable, but because in all time to come, the spread of religion is intimately connected with that of science. The obstacles to the universal diffusion of religion would be removed along with the barbarism, and the ignorance, the superstition, and the brutal violence, which lay waste the finest portions of the earth ; and religion has become inseparably linked with science as the medium by which she will pervade all countries, and attain to the remotest recesses of the globe ; every new truth discovered is a step gained for christianizing the world ; and every art, and every accommodation that ministers to convenience in this life, may be turned into an instrument for farthering the interests of another. The superiority of Europe, like the superiority of ancient Greece, kept for a time within narrow limits by the jealousies and the divisions of its states, will, in no distant period, burst its boundaries, and Europe, like Greece under Alexander, will overrun the regions of the barbarians, bearing in the train of its conquests the discoveries of true science, and the revelations of true religion. The sword that hangs over the eastern nations is suspended by a single thread ; and the

treasures and the crowns of half a world would scarcely cost their conqueror a victory.

The case is now the same with respect to the European sciences, as it formerly was with fire-arms, all nations must either adopt them or be conquered by them, and the adopting of the science of Europe would operate a still greater revolution than the being conquered by its arms; and a change would be effected not only in the government and civil institutions of the east, but in their religion and in all their modes of thought and life. But independently of the changes which are taking place, by power being so amassed and concentrated, that the forces of a small province are sufficient for the conquest of a half civilized empire; the means of voluntary persuasion are so augmented, that private individuals of no extraordinary capacity may commence the task of legislators, and like the benefactors of ancient Greece, may become the founders of new cities, and the authors of new political and religious institutions. The miracles which are imputed to false prophets, who established the worship of strange gods, must yield to the wonders which those moderately acquainted with science could operate; and missionaries have at their command whatever can rivet the attention, and inform the mind, when once the attention is secured.

All tribes, with a very few exceptions have made the first step to civilization, in the feeling of their own inferiority; and the change might be rapid, to a high state of improvement, if they were guided

by men at once acquainted with the arts of Europe, and the directest and simplest method of teaching them to others. Any government that was wise enough steadily to pursue its own interest, upon a great scale, might extend far and wide, a dominion more lasting and more useful than can be acquired by force; by imparting the arts of life, it might acquire the veneration which antiquity offered to the deified inventors of the arts, and be looked up to as their mother country, their sacred land, by nations remote in lineage, and dis severed by intervening continents. This feeling of filial veneration, unlike what the sword can give or take away, would remain the same among the vicissitudes of earthly things, and being incorporated with the early history of states, would continue for ever interwoven among the national remembrances. The subjects of such a nation would become a sacred tribe among mankind, the origin and the depository of those seeds of knowledge and religion, which were bearing so fair a crop throughout the earth, wherever were the dwellings of men. And when the sources of all the wealth and greatness, which had rested upon passing events, had vanished away, an empire would still remain, though of less material character; and its inhabitants would resemble that royal race of the east, who, when they ceased to be emperors, were still considered as the pontiffs and vicegerents of heaven.

ADVANTAGES OF RELIGION TO SCIENCE.

XVII. But if religion owes much, and expects more from science, science in time will owe much to religion ; the pursuits of knowledge are calm and abstracted ; the genuine love of it is but the portion of few, and these not among the wealthiest nor the most powerful of the species. Those rewards it has obtained have been chiefly extorted from vanity, a passion at once rapacious and covetous, that would receive much and give little ; and with a few splendid exceptions of philosophic or ambitious chiefs, the sums distributed for its support have been bestowed with the penuriousness of almsgiving, rather than with the munificence of patronage. Religion alone is ever likely to have sufficient power over the selfishness of any great number of men, to afford a proportionate reward for exertions which are profitable to individuals, only in as far as they benefit the community ; and it is from the enthusiasm and the self-devotion which religion is able to inspire, that we must look for any voluntary fund of large amount, when great and distant objects are to be attained at an expense commensurate with their greatness. From the prevalence of religion, the heroic feeling of seeking the common good before any private advantage will become diffused and prevalent, and Christianity may be expected to do as much, and more than the ancient superstitions did, when they made the citizen of antiquity prefer the ornament of public temples to the decoration

of his own private dwelling, the aggrandizement of his country to the accumulation of a fortune for his family ; and taught him to consider the welfare of his country as the very fountainhead of his own prosperity. It is thus that in their past history and future prospects the destinies of religion and science are united ; and whatever promotes the one must have a favourable influence on the other ; while science subjects the material world to man, and placing all sublunary things beneath his feet, restores him to the dominion which was lost by the fall of his first progenitor, religion will subject him to that law, the swerving from which was a greater loss than the other, and both united will restore the original design and harmony of creation, by which nature was subjected to man, and man to his Creator.

ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIETY.

PART THIRD.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION AT HOME.

DIFFERENCE IN THE CONDITION OF JEWS AND CHRISTIANS.

I. There are two empires in the world: that of force and that of truth: and as their nature, so their means are different. But brute force is of small avail, unless moral suasion accompanies it; and most dominations that have existed, have been mixed of both; employing force to gain, and opinion to retain the empire they had acquired. On the other hand, what has been gained by the persuasion of truth, has been sought to be retained by force; and the power over the mind which the early Christians obtained by their own sufferings in the cause

of truth, the Christians, falsely so called, sought to retain by the sufferings of others, who dissented for conscience sake. From the difference, however, of these two influences over the mind, an essential difference is pointed out in the mode of their operations, and in the situation of those external circumstances which afford facilities or hindrances to either. To take the case of the Jews: When a single nation was selected to become the priests of that pure worship which had been neglected or forgotten by the rest of mankind, a number of national rites were established, as the symbols and initiation of that priesthood, which had at once the double office of separating them from the nations and being the emblems of a future dispensation. This priesthood, or this nation, for here they are synonymous, had to uphold their laws by the sword against external or internal violence; and the Jews were congregated into one territory, and embodied into a peculiar people, being as yet only the witnesses of a forgotten truth, or at best, but the prophets of a future, and not the apostles of the present revelation. But when the times of the Gentiles were come, and truth, by its own peculiar weapons, was to subdue the world, that national force which was requisite for the maintenance of national rites was discarded, and the sceptre departed from Judah, when the King whose sceptre was truth, and whose dominion was in the mind, came to reign over the family of man. As a transition to this new dominion, the Jews were, by

their captivity in the east, and their emigration through the west, gradually removed from their country, and scattered among the nations of the world. They were thus unfitted to support a national system of rites, and fitted to spread a universal system of opinion. They were missionaries without moving from their birth-place ; and, before the coming of the Messiah, occupied the stations among the gentiles whence they could most easily and efficaciously proclaim his advent, and demand obedience to his universal authority.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF CHRISTIANS.

II. What the situation of the Jews was then, upon a larger scale and with greater resources is that of the Christians now. In every nation there are men who fear God and follow righteousness ; though there is no nation who make the law of God their law, and who might claim with Israel to be God's peculiar people. It is thus that true Christians are witnesses for the truth in the world at large, as the Jews were among the Gentiles ; their abode becomes a station for proclaiming the truth ; they are constituted missionaries by the constitution of society around them, and they have not the heathen to seek in distant countries, they have them in their streets, and at their doors. Every Christian is surrounded with fields of usefulness already white for the harvest ; the work is prepared for him, and he is prepared for the work ; since, with

the Bible in his hand, and its truth written in his heart, he speaks the language of those about him, enters involuntarily into their turn of thought, and possesses the avenues to their conviction, from the habit of appealing to their reason, or to their passions, to carry his own purposes into effect. Without any preconcerted effort he is acting on those around him ; a solitary, and often a silent witness, his life, regulated by other rules, and newly infused hopes, creates a change even by the opposition it excites, or by the disapprobation it incurs. Some objections are relinquished as untenable, and a nearer approximation of opinions, though it be for purposes of hostility, becomes necessary for coming into close contact with the system condemned, or to enable the objector to institute a comparison in favour of himself. The standard of duty is raised alike by imitation or opposition, and the minds of men are preserved from the willing oblivion they naturally fall into, of an invisible existence. The life of a Christian, however hidden, like the secret wells of the desert, is ever discoverable from the verdure which it nourished by its presence. Silent thoughts, which have had no other outlet but prayer, have yet a restraining power when conscience interprets that silence ; and the precipitous descent to evil is rendered less headlong by the intervention of a few scattered monitors. A Christian has a sphere of influence before he begins to act, from the power which a predominating principle has of drawing other minds within the circle of its action ;

and the changes and vicissitudes of mortality necessarily call that principle into activity and exhibit it in a visible form. But, though impelled by their peculiar position to benefit others, there is often among men of devoted piety the want of a systematic plan of benevolence, and a postponement of objects near at hand for those to which distance gives an imaginary value. To the evils we continually see we become resigned, as if they formed an inseparable part of the ordinary course of nature; and scenes of diversified and foreign misery are the first to arouse the attention, and, by the impression they make on the imagination, and the incitement they give to arduous enterprise, have had the largest share in forming the habit of benevolent exertion. This state of mind, though not unnatural, and the origin of most of the plans of usefulness now in operation, is prolonged unnecessarily after the habit which it gave rise to is fixed, and serves to throw into the shade that narrow field of exertion which is at the command of each individual. Men are apt to forget, while they gaze at remoteness, that every impulse is greatest at its centre, but is wasted away as it is diffused, and when widely spread, is finally lost in the conflicting movements which it is sure to encounter. Other causes which prevent Christians from labour and self-denial, are the easy terms on which they may be at peace with all around them. If they cease to do good, they immediately cease to be opposed; the middle state of neutrality is freely allowed to them; and they may always re-

tain their principles with applause, provided they never seek to put any of them into practice. Besides, the interests of truth are supposed to be delegated to a particular class, whose peculiar office it is to make known the gospel, and whose appointment dismisses the great body of Christians to the enjoyment of an ease and inactivity denied to the first professors of the faith ; to whom the earth offered no resting-place, and who were witnesses unto the death, of the divine authority of those doctrines which made them differ from other men. It is not to be expected that the modern disciples of Christianity should have the same zeal as those who were thrust out to their work by persecution, and who had resigned whatever was dear to man for the sake of conscience, and had burst the last shackles which bound them to the world. The natural acquiescence in things present and sensible has too strong a hold in ordinary circumstances to permit the religious principle its full vigour ; still we may look forward to the time when zeal shall increase with knowledge, and a greater influence for good shall be spread by individuals through their own immediate neighbourhood. And though a prophet is not without honour except among his own kindred, and in his own country, and a large enterprise often demands a more distant field, yet, in the quiet walk of every-day usefulness, and in that stable success which is of slow and silent growth, the retired circuit of each individual's private influence affords the surest opening and pro-

mise of a favourable result. Here every one is at his post ; the work is already begun, and the workman is fitted for his task. There is neither waste of time nor of exertion ; but without their intention, or their knowledge, a host of teachers are scattered far and wide over the world, each in the situation he is appointed to occupy ; and furnished, without his seeking them, with the qualifications which fit him for his work. But though the scattered condition of Christians has its advantages, in placing each man upon his field of labour, and furnishing him, by his previous life, with many of the habits and acquirements best adapted to make that labour successful ; yet they lose as a body what they gain as individuals, by being less firmly united together, than if collected into one solid phalanx, all trained by a uniform discipline, and executing the same movements, in obedience to the same word of command. Being far separated and dispersed, often unable to recognise each other, ignorant of their numbers, unconscious of their strength, and sensible only of the presence and of the multitude of their enemies, they are deterred from attempts which they might successfully execute if they had the means at once of knowing each other, and of making known their common designs. A regular and ascertained method of mutual communication would completely remedy the inconveniences of their scattered situation : for it is the union of opinions, and not of persons, that truth requires to assert her moral dominion. Whatever then, tends to make

christians coalesce in their endeavours to attain the same ends, and whatever circulates a common mind throughout the scattered body, tends also to fill up the full measure of their just influence in its twofold method of operation ; the influence of the individual on the neighbourhood around him, and the influence of the body at large upon the public mind.

UTILITY OF ASSOCIATION.

III. The first method by which these advantages may be secured is voluntary association. The act of uniting for any object whatever, raises individuals from their condition of helpless inactivity, and displays to them, instead of their lonely and isolated condition, the wide extended array of their friends ; and then, no longer held in by the pressure of a thwarting and out-numbering force, they have all the spirits which advancing to the attack confers, and all the confidence which arises from the new discovery of their allied numbers. The invigorating strength which such an association gives, secures the doubtful and inspirits the wavering, gives a renewal of life to the languid body, opens out a prospect amid intervening obstacles, and levels what was formerly deemed insurmountable. The force of moral union rapidly augments ; and what seemed impregnable when assailed by many repetitions of individual effort, gives way before the combined assault of numbers, who are enabled continually to recruit their strength, and to pour out fresh acces-

sions of force into the field. Association also increases the chance of success, and [diminishes the liability to reverses. A general union is too widely spread to be interrupted by any checks it may receive upon particular points ; what is weak in one part can be strengthened from the resources of the rest ; and reiterated failures are provided against, or immediately obliterated, by attempts sufficiently numerous to exhaust misfortune. Besides, voluntary union, not bound to any prescriptive form, or certain mode of operation, can change and adapt itself to varying events ; or, when hemmed in by hindrances, can insinuate itself through the narrowest inlets. Eluding the sight like the most subtle and irresistible powers of nature, it can spread unseen its fine net-work through the world, and involve in its meshes whatever offers resistance, or obstructs its progress. But such a society is not only an instrument of power ; it subserves also a variety of secondary purposes ; it is a bond of mutual knowledge, as well as of mutual co-operation ; it is at once a register of those who are engaged in the same enterprise, and an exercise by which they are trained to act in concert ; and it lifts up a standard round which all can rally who are favourable to the common cause. It allows those who are enrolled in it, all the support of acting in a well-compacted body, and reserves for them the almost opposite advantages of a very extended field of action ; and unites a strict combination of movement with a free and voluntary service ; and joins

the unity and simultaneousness of effort with every diversity of mode and direction of attack. Its indirect consequences are still greater than its direct results; even in the failure of every attempt, the members of such a union receive a greater benefit than that which they proposed to confer; if they are successful, their success redounds in a still higher degree upon themselves; and if the receivers of the gospel have been blessed, those who sent it have experienced that it is still more blessed to give than to receive; and before the distant regions of the earth are likely to be turned to the knowledge of the truth, England herself will be evangelized, in the act of evangelizing other nations.

BEST FORM OF SOCIETIES.

IV. Associations as yet have by no means received their best form, though the inconveniences attending an imperfect arrangement, and the increasing pressure of business, have gradually made them approximate to it. The first problem with all societies, has been to secure a certain portion of the public money; which was only to be done by including in the list of names upon the committee, those who were favourites of the religious public, and who, from their popularity, might be considered as securities for the proper employment of whatever was contributed; and as these members were chosen, not for their acquaintance with the subject, nor the interest which they took in it, nor for the leisure and opportunity they had of minutely in-

quiring into its concerns, nor for any purpose entertained by them of undertaking the labour of its management, they soon would become irregular in their attendance, and the real direction of the society would be vested in a few, and not in that list of names which were held forth to the public. But the irregular attendance of members of a committee not only conceals those who have the real management, but impedes and perplexes the business, by changing directors into learners, who, instead of giving instructions what ought to be done at the present meeting, become confused inquirers of what had taken place at the last. Besides, where business has to be transacted by talking, the work executed is the exact inverse of the number of assistants ; each one has his peculiar turn of thought, and his own mode of action ; all views may be right, since there are many ways of reaching the same end ; but all are not compatible ; and the appropriated time expires in a variety of opinions ; the members must disperse, and the matter is huddled up by some crude compromise, which is supposed to represent the unanimous sense of the meeting. The real and laborious business of every society should be devolved upon a salaried agent, and the control of that business should be vested in sub-committees, with the obligation of reporting their proceedings to the parent committee for approval, but not for discussion. Two or three members will go over thrice as much ground as a committee of twenty, in the same given time, and much

more thoroughly. Not having numbers to shield them, they will find it incumbent upon them to make themselves acquainted with the subjects on which they are about to determine; and a measure of responsibility will attach itself to them which cannot adhere to a larger committee, who out of the weariness of much speaking, often submit to some middle opinion, which not one of them sincerely judges to be the best. A great improvement might consist in sub-committees giving the reasons of their proceedings shortly in writing; by this means, the whole committee, though not masters of the details, might yet judge whether these reasons were valid; and by a simple assent or dissent, might ratify or annul them. Thus the society would obtain a fixed and written plan and outline of all its proceedings; and the improvements that were subsequently made would not be suggestions thrown out in the heat of conversation, but the result of genuine experience and sober deliberation. In this way the committee would be lightened of its labours; the calls upon its attention would be less frequent, and therefore easily attended to; no time would be lost in idle discussion; the whole proceedings and mechanism of the society could be laid before every member in writing; and their operations would proceed without change, except a decidedly ascertained change for the better.

DIVISION INTO DISTRICTS.

V. Corresponding to the division of societies into sub-committees, is the division into districts of the country over which the society is to operate. By the first measure, the active part of the society is brought into the highest state of efficiency, and by the second, those who are to be acted upon, are brought into the most manageable condition. Through towns, every impulse that acts upon mankind is circulated with comparative ease and rapidity; these are the natural centres of all changes and improvements; but the movements become more languid and feeble as they spread to a distance, throughout remote and thinly peopled districts, and vestiges of a former state of society long continue to linger in these recesses, unaffected by the changes which have taken place in a denser population. It is thus that Christianity, and every new system of opinions, was not at first equally diffused over the countries which it so rapidly overran; it followed the main stream of civilization, and fixed its abode in cities, while the villages were long left to their ancient errors. The remoter parts of a country therefore require a peculiar exertion from any agency that would spread a new influence over them, and demand an adaptation in the mechanism of any society that would penetrate immediately into the depths of their seclusion; towns, at the same time, while they readily receive and conceal any new movement, also present an obsta-

cle, arising from an opposite cause, but attended with a similar effect ; by the density and imperviousness of their masses, they suddenly arrest that movement which is more slowly diffused, and at length ceases to circulate, through the scattered and interrupted population of the country. The remedy in both cases is to divide, and overcome. By an agency adapted to each district, the remotest and most desert tracts may be brought within the sphere of a society's influence, and the most impenetrable portions of a crowded city may be pervaded and made permeable. The principle of locality, which has been applied so successfully by Dr. Chalmers to the arrangement of parishes and towns, is transferable with an equal prospect of success, to the arrangements of general societies, and is, in their case, still more necessary, as their field of operations is more extended and more unmanageable ; and the same principle, though no longer applied to space and numbers, would still be followed with the same happy results, in the allocation and division of business among subdivisions of committees. In order to cover the country with effect, and to bring it completely within the reach of the influence intended, it would be necessary to appoint agents and correspondents for each county, who would have subordinate agents attached to each district, with ramifications of their influence extending to every parish. It is a completeness of agency like this which alone can give the utmost efficiency to every operation ; which would suffer no ground

to lie waste, no talent to be unoccupied, no effort to be misdirected ; which would connect the exertion of each individual in his own peculiar locality with the efforts that were making in every direction, however distant, and unite his small field of labour with the line of operations which embraced provinces and kingdoms.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

VI. Societies, however extended, must have their limits ; but a general corresponding society might commence its operations where others ended theirs, and begin to collect its information where others were forced to stop their action. Similar to the society for philosophic correspondence, formerly pointed out, it would form a connecting band between Christians of all nations and languages, unconfined by any national barriers, and as diffusive as the light or the waters. It would perpetuate advancement, by communicating to the members who were languid and inert, the hopes and the enthusiasm of those who were active, and advancing ; would fix the eyes of all upon the contest, and augment the efforts and the success of the combatants, by the interminable echo of applause and sympathy, which resounded from those who were pledged in the same cause, as they repeated the expression of their interest, from country to country. Christians, however dispersed, are members of one body, but, as in a body paralysed and diseased, the communication between the members is

interrupted, and unconscious of their mutual existence, they cease to feel for each other ; a general corresponding society would spread a new sensibility through every part, and would bring home to the rest the welfare and the sufferings of every remote portion, that all might sympathise, and that all might assist. It is from such a union alone that the full strength of Christians can be collected, and their resources made known ; and it is in this only way that a general body of directors can be constituted, to whom application might be made in all possible occasions of emergency ; who would have it in their power to unlock the streams of benevolence, to increase and unfold the stores of philanthropic and religious information ; and who might form the very heart through which the life-blood of whatever was excellent would circulate, and be the germ from which a new order of the moral world might be disclosed. For the formation of such a society, the commercial ascendancy of England affords large scope, and frequent and easy openings ; the ocean which separated the ancient world unites her distant possessions, and the ends of the earth are brought into contact, by the ceaseless passing and repassing of her fleets ; the influence of her merchants is equally felt at the Antipodes as upon the exchange of London ; their Scandinavian ancestors are eclipsed by the enterprise of their more pacific descendants ; and the most daring of the piratical chiefs of the Norse-

men must yield in energy and perseverance to the modern "kings of the sea." (H.)

By means of such a correspondence the general body would rapidly increase in knowledge as well as in compactness; no discovery of benevolence would be lost, no opportunity of usefulness would pass away. The art of benefiting mankind, of all arts the least studied in theory, if not the most neglected in practice, would receive a sudden tribute of ever-renewed accessions; and while the greatest possible result of beneficence was produced by any given quantity of effort, and that quantity of effort was augmented to the highest degree, a new science would be evolved, the science of doing good, by the free and open communication from one end of Christendom to the other, of every plan and achievement by which the state of mankind might be ameliorated either for time or for eternity; and as the Romans immediately adopted those weapons for their own, whose edge and efficacy they had acknowledged in battle, so every instrument of beneficence, which has been aiding to the cause of humanity, and many engines, with which its true interests have been assailed, would be adopted and become general throughout Christendom, and be added to the armoury of those weapons, which are preparing for the moral conquest of the earth.

NEWSPAPERS.

VII. That impression of the general mind which a corresponding society would circulate through

the world, the periodical press would give in a more defined, though in a more limited shape. It is desirable that this, one of the new energies of modern days, should be brought to exert a favourable influence towards religion in its two forms—the registry of passing events, and the criticism of current opinions. It every day becomes more apparent, in the midst of the universal diffusion of partial knowledge, what an important station they occupy who are enabled to reiterate, day after day, or month after month, their assertions, with or without proof, and how much of the popular creed is formed by their hearing the same dogmas boldly and endlessly insisted on; and, whilst the generality of mankind are incapable of large views, ignorant and careless of the past, and unable to penetrate into the future, the passing occurrence, or the passing opinion, will always be the materials which will occupy their imagination and constitute the furniture of their minds. But to derive profit from this childish temper, and to turn a weakness to good account, two sets of periodical works are requisite. A religious newspaper, and a religious review, if conducted upon right principles, and by men of vigorous understanding, would fill the circle of those favourable influences, and complete the number of those aids which give a right disposition to the public mind. It is printing which gives one great superiority to later times; and it is by the periodical press that that superiority is most suddenly and variously manifested in the rapid transmission of every impulse

throughout the whole frame-work of society. It has justly been said, that the circulation of newspapers would have contributed more to have preserved the freedom of the ancient republics than all the institutions of their legislators. Completely at the mercy of their orators, the citizens of Greece had nothing lasting and recorded to guide them. Impelled by the breath of the last speaker, and actuated by every rumour, they were sensible to each impression, but no impression was permanent. Feverishly excited by what was present, they were less attentive to the great changes which were slowly produced by time, and less provident against the real dangers which futurity was darkly disclosing. Writings, however imperfect, would have been a surer guide, than the crafty eloquence of those who subsisted in importance by fomenting the passions of the people, and a more sustained interest would have been kept up in the public affairs than could ever have been produced by that flame of transient patriotism which was suddenly kindled by the "winged words" of Pericles or Demosthenes; but which, like the winged words that fanned it, departed rapidly away. A city has ever a tendency to democracy; the quick transmission of sentiment gives to the expression of its feelings a perpetually representative form, and embodies opinion in no questionable shape. It is only by an overwhelming force that the movement of the popular mind can there be disregarded or repressed; and, even amid countries subjected to tyrannical force, towns

guard themselves, by the quickness of their resentment, from the acts of violence and injustice which are perpetrated without resistance in remoter provinces. Newspapers communicate to a whole country the advantages which was formerly peculiar to a city, and spread the same impulse from province to province with as much rapidity, and more precision than it could formerly have been circulated from one quarter of a large town to another. But the power of newspapers consists, not only in the rapidity of the transmission, but in the reiteration of their statements. Burke, thirty years ago, had the sagacity to perceive, that they who can gain the public ear from day to day, must, in the end, become the masters of public opinion, and the rapid increase of the numbers and of the influence of newspapers more than justifies his prediction. It was no bad observation of Fletcher of Salton, that, whoever made the laws of a nation he cared not, provided he had the making of their ballads. But now that nations are less addicted to ballad-singing, and more to the reading of newspapers, the high office of moulding institutions, and amending manners, is devolving upon the editors of daily or weekly journals. A very ungrounded complaint has been sometimes made, that the editors of newspapers are over apt to magnify their office, and to assume an undue degree of importance. On the contrary it is to be regretted that they are not sufficiently aware of the great benefits they might confer by a proper direction of their efforts, and of the injury

they frequently occasion to public morals by the incautious admission of improper materials. As they gradually feel their own force, and rise in the scale of their own estimation, and in that of the nation, they will employ their powers to better advantage, and exert a more systematic and favourable influence for good over the public mind. Even at present they are the main fulcrum and support of liberty; it is through their medium that the House of Commons exerts its healthiest action upon the people at large, and is again reacted upon from without, and is made accessible throughout its recesses to the light and ventilation of free discussion. The most eloquent speeches would expire with their own echo within its walls without influencing a single vote, unless they were printed and circulated in the columns of the newspapers. Editors may thus become more than the rivals of the orators, whose speeches, imperfectly reported, must go forth to disadvantage in the records of the same journal; and equal eloquence may have a wider effect when addressed boldly at once to the bar of public opinion, whose decision is of last resort, and whose verdict is mighty and will finally prevail.

The great power of the daily and weekly press may in some degree be judged of, from the exertions which the Times journal, in cases of urgent extremity, has suddenly and successfully made in behalf of the unfortunate, and the relief which it has thus afforded where individual efforts would have altogether failed in the promptness and in the

efficacy required ; and the extent of such aid may clearly be seen from the subscriptions which are poured in to succour the distressed whenever the newspapers unite in representing their case to the public. At present these journals do not act upon a plan sufficiently systematic to show what could be done by great talents pursuing the same object from day to day, and from year to year ; and we must rather look to the past than to the present, to the times when the periodical press had not acquired the influence which it now possesses, for an example of the over-ruling force it can put forth, and of the mastery it can gain over the thoughts of the age, and of the current it can give to the general feeling. This example we may find in the Letters of Junius, which, in a great measure, gave a new tone to public sentiment, and still continue to exert an influence hostile to the rulers of the country ; and though, from the manifest disregard of truth in many of its statements, and the want of candour throughout, it is no longer, if it ever was, an authority in this country, and acts only in the deathless sting it has left behind it ; yet abroad it maintains a high reputation, and is a work of acknowledged reference, and was the book which the Emperor Napoleon consulted as the index of the national sentiments when he had the prospect of finding a refuge in England. If a writer who possessed equal talents with Junius, and who had on his side, what the other wanted, the force of truth, there can be no doubt that he would exercise

a paramount sway over his cotemporaries, and leave behind a long-enduring authority and a lasting reputation. A religious writer of popular talents, and of a forcible style, could have no station of more extensive usefulness than the direction of a weekly newspaper. Neither the pulpit nor the senate house could afford him a more various or more ample field. Every good cause would require his assistance, and would receive his easy and effectual support. He could open the fountain of public liberality, and direct its currents wherever they were required, while at the same time, he could mould the exertions of benevolent societies, and shape them into a more efficient form. Unconfined to any party or society, he would be the mutual benefactor of all, and their general defence ; for, lightly armed, and ever ready for action, he might be the earliest to repel an attack, and the first to lead in advance.

REVIEWS.

VIII. A review is the natural growth of the increase of knowledge, and of the augmentation of books. When the sciences were few, and the works written upon each were rare, and readers were men devoted to science, who read all that was written, and passed their own independent judgment on all that they read, there was no place for a critic by profession in the paucity of works recently published ; and, accordingly, the first books that were reviewed were not the new productions

but the old ; and critics, instead of anticipating the judgment of the public, were employed in recording it, and in fixing the rules, according to which sentence had already been passed. But when books and readers multiplied, and the first became various, and the second superficial, notices of what newly published works contained became useful to those who had a few books to choose, and these out of a multitude. In process of time, these notices became analyses, and the analyses reviews, and these reviews grew in number, in bulk, and in importance ; and as the causes that have given them their importance are still operating and still growing, the number and influence of reviews must go on prospering and multiplying ; and it becomes every day more essential that their tendency should be favourable to the establishment of right principles, and to the promoting of the best interests of mankind. In a country like Britain, where party and politics mix their influence in every thing sacred and profane, it is not surprising that reviews should have received the same bias, and should take the colour of some prevailing faction, and that authors should be applauded or condemned for their taste in politics, rather than for their taste in literature. But it is not only for their literary injustice and party bias that some good men have objected to reviews, and to anonymous publications, but also for their tendency to private slander. Fear is the origin of much of the good breeding and good nature which pass current in the world ; and it is only when

some men put on a mask that they show their real character ; and anonymous publications have served as a convenient shelter for those who would willingly indulge their malice, provided they could be secure from all fear of consequences. But though these are frequent, they are by no means necessary concomitants of the writings of men, who favour the public with their opinions, but not their names ; nor is it likely that such defects will occur as frequently in the future as they have in the past. In works of this description, the worst have had the precedence, and better will follow ; as the ancients believed, that when the sun first quickened the original mud out of which all things were formed, monsters and vermin had the priority of birth, and afterwards more perfect creatures were brought to light, and higher orders of being, newspapers and reviews have improved greatly since the time of Pope and Smollett ; and though attempts are occasionally renewed to bring them back to their original state of degradation, yet we may trust to the ordinary course of improvement for their general amelioration ; and already that improvement has in part taken place. If it were necessary, many examples might be pointed out where concealment has only added to the courtesy of an opponent, who, like the unknown knight of ancient romance, supplied the want of a device by his noble bearing and generosity to the vanquished.—While it is evident that a review might be conducted by men of piety, free from all the objections

which have been too readily applied to these works ; it is equally clear, from the assistance which political reviews have given to their party, how powerful an instrument such a review would be for promoting the influence of religion. Not that such publications are even now deficient either in number or in excellence, but from particular circumstances, they want that extended circulation which is essential to diffusive usefulness. To take the *Eclectic* alone as an example, a review to which Hall, Montgomery, and Foster, have contributed since its commencement, besides others nearly as eminent in their particular departments, must contain a great variety of excellence ; but a monthly publication is unfavourable for the selection of proper articles, and, of necessity, there is much inequality in a work which contains many brilliant passages of an eloquence seldom rivalled, and an originality of conception which those who are economical of their thoughts, and instructed in the art of book-making, would never have expended in an anonymous publication. Were a quarterly work written with equal talents, but conducted upon a better plan, and if, above all, it forgot the minor differences which divide and distract the christian world, it would act not only on the minds of readers, but of authors, and would raise the standard of moral feeling, while it deterred from literary delinquency. It is not desirable that a review should insist directly upon religion,—that subject is better, and more amply discussed elsewhere ; but its aim should be

to place all subjects in their right position, to give them their just value, and to view them in the pervading light which revelation sheds around them.—Such a publication would have an ampler range than those which are tied down to advocate the cause of a particular party, it would embrace a circle as wide as the interests of humanity, and would supply the want of personal invective or political rancour, by engaging in the cause of mankind at large, and addressing not the prejudices of a few, but those interests and sympathies which are co-extensive with our common nature.

SCHOOLS.

IX. A wide scope is offered to benevolent exertion, in the improvement of schools, and in the diffusion of education. It is the defect of education, as we have formerly said, which has diminished and curtailed the beneficial results of the discovery of printing; and as the influence of printing has thus been circumscribed, the influence of religion has been diminished along with it; for as printing owes its origin to religion, so religion will partly owe its ultimate diffusion to the prevalence of the press. It is no paradox to trace the discovery and general use of printing to the Bible. The learning of the ancients was a luxury confined to the great, and their books were copied and prepared by their slaves; what was popular was poetry, and that committed less to writing than to the recitation of the rhapsodists. What instruction they

had was oral, they learned the mysteries of religion from the voice of the priests or hierophant, the interests of the state from the debates of their orators, the history of their country from the triumphal trophies that recorded ancient victories, or in the solemnities and funeral orations that embalmed the memory of the patriots who had fallen in battle. Their philosophy had less its preservation from books than from schools of disciples, who upheld under the same portico, or under the shade of the same trees, from age to age, the tenets of their masters. But when the learning of the Greeks, with the miracles of their art, followed like captives in the train of the conquerors, and swelled the triumphal pomp of Roman victories, the ever-present remembrances of Grecian literature were absent, the reciter, the orator, and the schools, with each its band of disputants,—and books became indispensable, as the only records and monuments which could transfer from Athens to Rome the learning of the former. But the volumes that filled the libraries of Rome were easily accumulated by the wealth of the patricians, and multiplied by their domestic transcribers, while the people at large found matter more congenial to their taste in the bloody shows of the amphitheatre, than in pondering the works of Grecian genius, and the happy imitations of them which their own country had afforded. But in countries where civilization had not attained the same eminence as in the ancient republics of the south of Europe, yet it had penetrated deeper,

partly from being of longer standing, and partly from these countries possessing writings which were acknowledged to be records of the divine will. The speculations of philosophers could interest but a few ; the supposed intimations of the Deity were the concern of all mankind ; the reveries of Plato were addressed solely to the most refined of the Athenians, who alone could expect to mingle in the elysiums of poets and heroes ; but the disclosures, and the heavens of popular revelations were open to all who had complied with the rites of the national religions ; and the Vedas of Hindostan, written in a remoter age and more barbarous country, attracted more readers than all the disquisitions of the Greeks respecting the chief good and the origin of things. The Koran, a more popular religion than the Vedas, founded on no philosophical views, but demanding the attention of every one, under the penalty of an infinite loss, was still more adapted to be generally read, and the erection of a mosque might frequently be accompanied by that of a school ; and a concern about religion is naturally attended with a desire to peruse the volume which reveals futurity ; but the flattering prospect of Arabian civilization disappeared, as we have formerly said, with their empire, which fell as suddenly as it rose ; the language of the koran was no longer the language of the mass of the moslem ; and the ardour of the Turks and the Persians to read “the book” was damped and delayed by the sacred documents being couched in a foreign language. Si-

milar was the case during the dark ages, and in the Catholic countries; but the truths of the Bible, however darkened, appealed more strongly to the conscience, and were more awful in their import, and accordingly produced a wider effect upon society, spread education, and multiplied the number of readers; the prevalence of reading produced a greater number of copies, and the number of copies increased the facilities for the acquisition of reading. The infinite importance of the revelation to the interests, temporal and eternal, of mankind, made it most meritorious and imperative to afford the utmost facility and freest access to the sacred volume; and the Catholic priesthood, not aware that the weapons they were furnishing might be turned against themselves, were the great patrons of learning, and promoters of elementary education, and to the church was annexed a school, and to the monastery a copying room. In China, the art of printing had been first invented, and the two causes of its discovery might be found in the depth of its ancient civilization, and in the rude and elementary nature of its characters; for as the characters of the Chinese are signs of things and not of letters, and as the simplest invention of printing is that of immoveable types, there is less distance between Chinese writing and Chinese printing, than between the invention of printing and writing in Europe. The chances, therefore, were greatly in favour of the Chinese having the priority of the invention of printing, but not of its general use; for the want

was by no means equal in the east and west of a more powerful and cheaper mode of multiplying copies. It is only where a number of copies of the same work are wanted that printing would be brought into general application ; and in the number of readers who pressed forward to the study of the bible, and in the religious works that were written in accordance with it, we have the cause of the introduction of printing during an age still dark, if compared to the illumination of the few during the bright days of Greece and of Rome, but surpassing former ages in the more general diffusion of simple and elementary truths, in which the peasant and the philosopher are equally concerned.

The theory of education is still very deficient, and it is not wonderful that the practice should have been still more so ; the present system of learning had its rise in the dark ages, when an acquaintance with the dead languages was thought the principal requisite for knowledge, the key that would open those treasures of antiquity, which embraced all the riches of the mind ; and the effects of this notion have remained long after the opinion which gave rise to them was deserted. Milton, Locke, and Rousseau have successfully entertained sounder views, but mixed with many errors. Their errors have been well noted, but the truths which they discovered have not yet been applied to any extent. If education in general has been carried on with no enlightened views, the instruction which is adapted to the poorer class has been still more neg-

lected. In Scotland, where parochial schools have long been established, and instruction has been universal, far from there having been a progress during the last half of the late century, there has rather been a decline ; and the abilities of the teachers and the desire of being taught, have in several instances suffered a diminution. It is the common fate of institutions which have no rivals, first to become stationary, and afterwards retrograde ; and to enjoy praise for past pre-eminence, is safer and more pleasant than to merit it by present exertion. But a general impulse has lately been given, and great efforts are making both in the old and the new world, so that countries which are not rapidly advancing will soon be left behind, in the swift progress that is proceeding around them. A society for collecting and diffusing information on the subject of education would now be of great advantage ; schools at a distance, or in foreign countries, have, till of late, attracted little attention, or when noticed, have been but indifferently described : but a society could easily remedy this deficiency, could acquire an exact outline of every method of teaching, in France and in Germany, in England and in America, and combine in a single periodical publication, their various excellencies, so as to present them to the reader in contact and comparison. A model school would likewise be of essential benefit, in reducing the most approved method of teaching into practice ; and in not only exhibiting its advantages visibly, but in training up a new race of schoolmas-

ters in the knowledge and practice of that method which it was desirable should be diffused. These model schools might be of two sorts, as circumstances dictated ; either consisting wholly of those who are selected from other schools, and intended to be schoolmasters ; or, which is the simplest plan, composed of monitors, who alone are intended to be schoolmasters ; and, who, at the same time that they are learning themselves, assist the master in teaching an ordinary day school. The latter, as it is the least artificial and expensive method, is in most circumstances the best ; and an improved class of teachers may gradually be raised without difficulty, and be spread through the country, trained up by long habit, to the best mode of teaching, and who from the first have been selected on account of their aptitude for the office they are designed to fill. It is an important requisite that schoolmasters should be men of piety ; and no others, generally speaking, will properly execute their trust : the irksomeness of repeating the same task, and the continual struggle with obstinacy and perversity, will in course of time, weary out every one who has not a religious motive for perseverance, except in a few cases, where, from the natural bent, the employment itself is a pleasure, or where the due performance of the duty is narrowly watched by a scrutinizing eye. In the present day especially, when the religious principle is not early implanted, education becomes a very doubtful boon. The general mind is stirring and awake, but not always to

wholesome truths ; and in the great moral revolution which is on the eve of taking place, the thoughts of men, feverish and unsettled, require some better guide than the common-place precepts, and powerless direction, which an education without religion can furnish.

LIBRARIES.

X. An increase of books is a necessary effect of the increase of readers ; and, as education becomes general, village libraries will augment in number, and rise in importance. Even at the present time, a considerable sum is expended by the labouring classes of Scotland in the purchase of books—a sum which is annually increasing in a much greater ratio than many are aware of ; and hence it becomes highly important, in every point of view, that these hard earnings should be well expended, and that the short time which the labourer takes from his rest and devotes to reading, should not be thrown away on useless, or pernicious writings. It is pleasing to see how far a village subscription library, which the peasants have chosen for themselves, excels a circulating library which consults the taste of the more idle and affluent in towns ; how much more careful those are who have a property in the books they read, than others, who have better opportunities of information, but who, as subscribers for a night, merely wish to pass the time. In circulating libraries, the works are, in general, of the most trifling character, and mark the lowest class of readers

who are content with books that present to them the vagueness and incoherence of their own thoughts, only distorted into more wild and unnatural combinations ; but little of this trash appears in libraries which are the property of the members. A new class of works appear, not always perhaps the best adapted to the wants of the purchasers, but which are of a much superior description, and lead the attention to more important objects. These libraries are of a still higher order when an individual in the neighbourhood of intelligence and superior education has given his advice and assistance in the formation of them ; and it is evident from experience, that they are moulded into their best shape when the choice of the members is thus guided by an informed judgment, and gently but perseveringly directed to works that are of sterling and lasting excellence. A book society would here be of great service, to co-operate with individuals, by aiding in the selection of libraries that were about to be formed, and superintending those that were already established. While, on the one hand, it might influence the rich to be of most essential use to their neighbourhood, at a small expense to themselves ; on the other, it might present to the labouring classes a list of books to direct their choice amidst the multitude of works published, of which they know nothing but the titles, or some deceitful panegyric contained in a friendly review. And, lastly, the proposed society, by taking a large quantity of books from a bookseller at a reduced price, might

be enabled, without expense to themselves, to afford them at a lower rate to the poor, and thus, making their advice palatable by the pecuniary advantages which accompanied it, they might acceptably exercise a salutary influence over the libraries which were under their care.

Here the advantage of a religious review is again manifest ; the desire of reading the works which are reviewed in the leading journals is the guiding motive with most village libraries for the purchase of new publications, and they remain ignorant of, and unprovided with, many works of real utility, which are past over in silence by the oracles in whom they put their trust. A review that would do justice to productions of real merit, without bias to any particular set of opinions, and which gave due importance to those which were likely to benefit the large body of the people, either in a temporal or religious point of view, would, among many other benefits, greatly improve the collections of those country libraries which are everywhere springing up, and would bring before the attention of those who are least able to judge for themselves, writings which might greatly improve their condition in this life, and tend to secure their happiness in another. It is the misfortune of many of the best religious works we possess, that the age has gone past them, and that they remain in their antiquated stiffness, soliciting attention in vain from those whose thoughts are moulded by newer writers, and to whom their phraseology is as uncouth, and as little intelligible,

as if they had written in a language foreign to their readers. Religious works in general are of a professional cast, and professions cling with tenacity to their own peculiarities, and strive hard against that stream of innovation which is ever wearing away the embankments that they laboriously have raised. While Aristotle has long been dismissed from the rest of the living world, his authority may still be traced in the divisions and dispositions of sermons! and those who would have attacked most perseveringly every position of Aquinas, have yet unconsciously, and at many removes, been influenced by his summary in the ordering of their bodies of divinity. A new race of writers is required, who shall build upon a higher philosophy, and who, renovated by the spirit of a new age, shall walk abroad in the liberty which religion and reason assign to them.

HOME MISSIONS.

XI. Of all methods for diffusing religion, preaching is the most efficient; other methods are indirect and preparatory, but the simple proclaiming of the gospel has in all ages been attended with the most transforming efficacy, elevating the few who have cordially accepted it into a higher and happier state of being, and even raising the many who have rejected it to a better system of moral opinions. It is to preaching that Christianity owes its origin, its continuance, and its progress; and it is to itinerant preaching, however much the ignorant may under-

value it, that we owe the conversion of the Roman world from paganism to primitive Christianity; our own freedom from the thralldom of popery in the success of the reformation; and the revival of Christianity, at the present day, from the depression which it had undergone owing to the prevalence of infidelity and of indifference. Books, however excellent, require at least some previous interest on the part of the person who is to open and to peruse them; but the preacher arrests that attention which the written record only invites, and the living voice and the listening numbers heighten the impression by the sympathy and enthusiasm which they excite; the reality which the truths spoken possess in the mind of the speaker, is communicated to the feelings of the hearers, and they end in sharing the same views, at least for the moment, and in augmenting each other's convictions. The arguments which are urged for sending missions to the heathen, acquire a double force when applied to the case of our countrymen at home; they have the first claim upon us; their ignorance is often as great as that of the heathen, or, if not so great, then their guilt is augmented in a higher proportion with their greater facilities of learning; and our duty becomes more imperative in this case, by the facility which we have of removing their ignorance. Home missionary exertions benefit the body of Christians who make them, as well as those for whose sake they are made; there could be no method more certain of re-animating a decaying interest, than

attempts to spread the truths of religion ; and new hopes and new strength are infused by the endeavour to communicate a renovation of life to others. It is not only the denominations of Christians who are thus active that receive the benefit, all partake of the same new impulse, and partly from emulation, and partly for self-defence, are hurried into the same career of benevolence. The whole machine is so closely connected, that one wheel sets the rest in motion, and the whole frame-work of religious society proceeds with an accelerated velocity. In England, the Home Missionary Society is rapidly increasing in its funds, though the field of its exertion as yet is somewhat contracted. In Scotland, two bodies of Christians have intentions of completely covering the whole country with their stations ; and if the vigour of the dissenters were equal to their resources, they would compel the establishment either to give ground, or to adopt a similar energy of action, as in the introduction of new principles into tactics, all must speedily comply with the improvements which have taken place, or resign the equality which they formerly maintained.

BIBLE SOCIETIES.

XII. The proposal of a variety of means for the attainment of any end, seems often to make the object sought after more difficult to be reached, while the choice is perplexed by the multiplicity of expedients. The Bible Society, which, from its

all-embracing nature, is capable of uniting these means in one harmonious action, may be brought forward as a fit example and instance of the simplicity of their results, and the facility of their combination. Pope has drawn a just and fine distinction between the works of God and man :—

“In human works, though labour'd on with pain,
A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain :
In God's, one single can its end produce ;
Yet serves to second too some other use.”

This distinction holds almost invariably good ; but the Bible Society, as if privileged by its connection with the sacred volume which it seeks to distribute, is equally remarkable for the extreme simplicity of its purpose, and for the countless variety of its results. Its object, though simple and one, is immense and sublime, the distribution of the word of God to the whole earth ; but that object, were it attained, great as it is, would be rivalled by the benefits which spring up under its influence indirectly and unexpectedly, along every path it pursues, and which multiply as it advances. The Bible Society might afford many of the advantages formerly pointed out as likely to arise from the establishment of a general religious association ; it is an excellent remedy for the weakness of the Christian body, which proceeds from their scattered condition, and a never failing bond of recognition and union. No simpler or better test could have been contrived for ascertaining the number of those who take a serious interest in religion

than the proposal of a contribution too small to be burdensome to any, for communicating to the nations the words of eternal life. And though all who contribute may not be drawn to do so by the proper motive, yet it is evident that those who do not contribute are destitute of the very commencement of right principles, and hence, wherever the cause of the Bible Society has been rightly explained and enforced, a list is obtained, a too favourable list no doubt of those who are friendly to christianity, and who are disposed to make some small sacrifice for spreading the knowledge of the truth. Thus the Bible Society becomes a rallying point for all christians, as it affords a basis of union broad enough to admit every varying shade of opinion, and lifts up a conspicuous standard to all those who are engaged in earnest in the great work of furthering the Redeemer's kingdom. It is admirably adapted for exhibiting the advantages and the arrangement of a well organized committee ; the extent of its operations, as well as their variety, naturally lead to a distinct classification ; the remoteness of the objects it pursues demands the care of salaried and responsible agents ; and the immensity of the whole work, and the minuteness of many of its parts, require the active co-operation of numbers, who, from their subdivisions, may distribute their attention among the perplexity of details, while, from the momentum of their united influence, they can communicate a wide and general movement. The Bible Society might also excellently exemplify the

division of an extensive country into counties and districts, appointing a correspondent to each county, who could afford that local knowledge which is requisite for minute success, and exert a superintendence from which nothing could escape, and lend that present and personal aid which gives a double value to every existing advantage ; and this system might possess every desirable minuteness and efficacy, by each county correspondent having under him an agent for every district, and each district agency having a ramification into every parish, so that the whole country might be brought under an action which had neither blanks nor pauses, but was full, continual, and systematic. This society might readily give rise to a general correspondence, which, though in some measure limited, and directed to the immediate concerns of the distribution of the Bible, would still serve as an index of the prosperity of religion, in all countries to which the agents of the society had access, or where its cause had been advocated. We have before observed how closely religion, education, and the demand for books are connected in the mass of the people ; and the Bible Society has in some degree done the work of an educational society in the new impulse which it has given to the cause of elementary learning : while a substitute for home missions might almost be found in the reiterated appeals which must be made to the public in behalf of a society, which requires so vast an expenditure, and which demands a zeal for its support and progress, only to

be kept in vigour by a continued recurrence to the truths, and to the importance of revelation. The indirect advantages that result from the Bible Society, proceed also, though in a more confined degree, from the exertions of Missionary Societies ; but as the foundation of the latter is narrower, so their influence is less catholic and comprehensive ; nor will even the Bible Society realize all that it might effect, until it shall have approached its best form, and received the complete organization of which it is susceptible. Abroad it requires a more systematic and numerous agency, and at home a division and subdivision of the ground from which it must gather its revenues, and which it must cover with its collectors. Much of a false economy prevails, the agents are too few, and too ill paid ; the services of men of the highest talent would be required, one in each of the principal countries abroad, to watch over the distant operations, which are sure to be mismanaged if not narrowly inspected ; and the salaries of agents, however considerable, would be amply repaid by the savings that would be effected in a wasteful expenditure, and the prevention of errors that must inevitably arise where there is no system and no control. Modern writers have discovered that words are more plentiful than thoughts ; and that therefore the true economy of writing consists in being sparing of the latter, and profuse of the former ; the reports of different societies carry this even too far, and one may read through a long report, and reach the con-

clusion without meeting a single new fact, or new observation by the way ; this ought to be amended, and a series of publications which would extend the knowledge, and deepen the interest which the subscribers take in the progress of religion, are strongly required, before that interest can become more general and abiding. With several defects, the Bible Society continues the most perfect institution of its kind, and the finest example of the power of voluntary association. It has merited the obloquy of that corruption of Christianity which styles itself catholic ; and while it has done religion one service, by uniting all its friends in one great cause, it has done it a second service, by uniting all its enemies, however hostile to each other against it ; thus ranging each side front to front, and preparing them for one decisive and final struggle. It leaves every one without excuse who does not co-operate with it ; it combines all classes and all creeds, the poor may contribute their mite, and the rich may pour in their abundance ; and those who build precious things, and those who heap up stubble upon the foundation of the Scriptures, have here one point of agreement in the foundation for which they both earnestly contend. It has done more good than all the theological discussions for the last hundred years ; and though it has confuted no heresy, it has done still better, for it has made many be neglected and forgotten. It oversteps the boundaries of kingdoms, and the separation of national jealousies, and presents a field wide enough for men of all nations

and languages to enter, without conflicting or jarring with each other ; its field is truly the world ; it embraces directly or indirectly, all the interests of humanity ; and it is ever profusely distributing the benefits of time, while its ultimate results are lost in the glories of eternity.

ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION AT HOME AND ABROAD MUTUAL.

XIII. The Bible Society affords an excellent illustration of how closely connected the advancement of religion is both at home and abroad ; so mutual is their progress, that it is difficult to separate them even in thought ; and the action and reaction of their common movements are not only conjoined, but mutually accelerating and augmenting. The efforts that are made abroad, demand more than an equal effort at home, to supply their expenditure ; and the improvements that are made at home will not only be transferred to foreign enterprise and missionary exertions, but will be spread over a large expanse, and have a wider range than the country which gave them birth could afford.—What is gained for humanity in one corner, however remote, is gained for humanity throughout the world ; in the course of years the same improvement in practice will be everywhere adopted, and the new accession of principles will be universally made known ; the schools of art in Great Britain will serve as models for the instruction of workmen in Mexico and Peru ; and the schools which

circulate through the glens of Wales, or the Scottish Highlands, will have their counter-parts in the defiles of Caucasus, or in those which are ascending the sides of the Andes, or penetrating the roots of the Himmalaya.

ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIETY.

PART FOURTH.

ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION ABROAD.

MAP OF THE WORLD.

I. **THE** ancient mythologists divined well when they said, that the “River Ocean” flowed round the world. They could scarcely have guessed, however, that it divided the earth into two great islands, though they had some dark forewarnings of the existence of America in the fable of Atlantis, as mariners sometimes see the land to which they are steering, long before they have reached it, indistinctly reflected upon the clouds.

Asia may be considered as constituting the mass of the old continent, and branching out into three subdivisions—the islands of the Great Ocean, Europe, and Africa—broken down towards the east into innumerable islands, which, diminishing in size, and increasing in number, are lost in their minute-

ness, and their multitude, in the expanse of the Pacific—prolonged towards the north-west by Europe; which, though not altogether divided into islands, is yet, in some measure, insulated by mediterranean seas—and continued to the south-west by the peninsula of Africa, which, the contrast of Europe, repels every entrance of the waves from its unbroken and continuous coast. While the new continent of America, opposed in its direction to the old, and stretching from pole to pole, is determined in its shape by that gigantic line of mountains, which, bordering on the perpetual winters of the arctic and antarctic circle, carry a range of unmelting snow through all the zones and climates of the earth.

Asia is distinguished by natural divisions into central, northern, south-eastern, and south-western Asia. Central Asia is separated by ranges of mountains into the middle, eastern, and western region, the original seats of the three great races of Scythian Herdsmen, the Moguls, the Mandshurs, and the Turks. The middle region, the country of the Moguls or Calmucks, may be considered as the nucleus and head-land of Asia from which the mountains break off in all directions, and from which the immense rivers of Asia run to the east, and to the west, or fall into the icy sea, or into the Indian Ocean; while its inhabitants have spread, like its waters, over half the world—have pitched their camp with Attila on the plains of Champagne, or on the eastern shores of China with the descendants of Zingis Khan, and have collected in the chace the

furs of Siberia, or supported the descendants of Timour on the throne of Delhi. This elevated region of snows and clouds, which maintains an almost unbroken winter in the vicinity of the tropic, has assimilated its peculiar inhabitants to itself, who, in their hardened and stunted frames, and in their ossified and flattened features, bear the impress of their iron soil and relentless sky. Yet even here there are favoured spots, some sheltered enclosure protected by the projecting rocks from the ice wind, or some valley which the rivers have hollowed out and clad with soil, some forest which receives mould and shelter from the overtopping mountain, or some plain to which an almost vertical sun has given a transient but abundant vegetation, like that sea of verdure which Timour beheld at his feet when he was crossing the mountain Ulagh.

Central Asia is somewhat softened in its eastern division of Mandshuria, where the cold is thawed by the neighbourhood of the sea, and the inland regions are fertilized by the waters of the Amoor, and sheltered by its magnificent forests. But its shores are desert, and its woods solitary; the tomb of the fisher is more frequently seen on its coast than the bark of the living,—the mausoleum which the emperors of China have erected to their ancestors is more splendid than their palace; and it seems as if the mass of the nation had expatriated themselves to take possession of their conquests in the south. Touran, as the Persian poets called the third division of Central Asia, is a still milder and

more fertile region, as the ground rapidly descends, and the sky brightens after passing the Belur Tag, or the Mountains of Darkness, till the delicious valley of Samarcand and Bochara opens out, and displays the green meadows and blossoming gardens, the castles and towns of Mawar al Nahar, whose inhabitants, in the mildness of their climate, lose the Scythian cast of countenance, and are alike celebrated for their bravery and beauty by the ancient poets of Iran.

Northern Asia, or Siberia, loses by its northern exposure and latitude what it gains by the descent of the ground towards the icy sea; and winter lingers round the year in the recesses of its woods, and in the depth of its morasses, where the ice never melts; and only some favoured situations, by a peculiarly happy exposure, enjoy the benefit of a brief but rapid summer. But even in its uniform desolation there are shades of difference, and the country beyond the Yenesei is still more Siberian than that which is nearer to Russia. It is thus that Asia has no temperate climate; it is divided by its central range of mountains between winter and summer.

South-eastern Asia, which is its warm and tropical division, may be divided into China, India, and the Indo-Chinese countries. In China, if the cold and heat are not intermixed into a temperate climate, they are interspersed into a variegated temperature, where the hills retain the coldness of Tartary, and the valleys unite the warmth of India to

the mildness and moisture of the neighbourhood of the southern sea ; thus furnishing, with every variety of climate, every variety of production. Japan may be considered as a smaller and insulated China, surrounded by the atmosphere of the Pacific, and therefore presenting the same range of temperature, modified by its vicinity to the ocean.

The Arabs, while they allowed the superiority of the head of the Greeks, and assigned to themselves the superiority of the tongue, in the arts of eloquence and poetry, acknowledged the super-eminence of the Chinese in all kinds of handicraft and mechanical skill. The improvement to which the Chinese have carried the arts, and their deficiency in native science and imagination, form a striking contrast with the inhabitants of Hindostan—that garden of Asia, the region of perpetual summer. The Chinese show their affinity to the herdsmen of the highlands of Asia by the form of their features, their language, their civilization, and even by the character of their intelligence ; while the Indians claim alliance with the Greeks and Europeans, by their mythology and their philosophy, by their language and by their genius. These two nations, so different, mingle together in India beyond the Ganges, in proportions varying according to their proximity to their original countries ; and as the population, so the climate of each country is combined—in the ranges of mountains, and in the vast rivers, which vie with the mountainous features and rivers of China—in the heat and the abundant mois-

ture, which reproduce the tropical vegetation of India. Both the animal and vegetable worlds here assume their largest dimensions ; this is the native region of the teak forest, and of the elephant. Nature itself is on so large a scale, that every range of mountains forms the boundary of a kingdom, and every valley constitutes an empire.

This region, by the jutting out of the Peninsula of Malacca forms a connexion with the Spice Islands, which owe their luxuriance to their being placed beneath the sun of the equator, in the midst of a boundless ocean ; and while, in one of their group, New-Holland, which presents an image of Arabia in the midst of the Pacific, they attain almost to the size of a continent, their size is lessened in the Isles of Polynesia till they form but a single rock or a bed of coral emerging from the waves.

South western Asia, which consists of Persia, the countries watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, Caucasus, Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia, may be considered the most temperate region of Asia, and which has most variety of seasons, though still liable to the extremes of heat and cold. In the valleys of the Afghans, and amid the anarchy of their rude tribes, the first germs of public liberty, which we meet with in the eastern parts of the old continent, are to be found ; and in the Mekraun, and through the middle of Persia, is a wide tract of those burning sands, which, stretching across Arabia, are prolonged in Africa to the shores of the Atlantic, and to the mountains beneath the equator.—

In the hills of Khorasan, and along the ridge that overlooks the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, the rival races of Iran and Touran have ceased to contend for superiority, and the last of the Zund, the original tribe of Persia, have disappeared from the neighbourhood of the ruins of Persepolis, their ancient capital. The Tigris and the Euphrates no longer water the gardens of the king of the world, but the Curds still dwell in their narrow and fertile valleys, beneath their perpetual snows, as invincible as when Xenophon penetrated the defiles of their country, or in their earlier days, when their capital was the victorious Nineveh. Caucasus contains as many languages and tribes as glens, the fragments of nations that have passed over it, and have settled in distant regions of the earth, and have left remnants behind them, like the patches of the winter snow that remain in the same valleys, while the mass of which they are a minute portion has long melted and passed away from the mountains upon which for a time it rested. Asia Minor, as it approaches Europe in situation, so it resembles it in character and climate. Like Spain, it consists of dry, elevated table land in the interior, where, in the pure air, and the aromatic pastures of the mountains, the fleeces of the flocks assume a finer and silkier texture ; and, while the forests of Pontus rival the woods of the Asturias, and the Gallia ; the banks of the Meander, and the delightful region of Ionia, surpass in mildness the orange

groves of Portugal, and the shores of the golden Tagus.

Syria derives a double character from its proximity to Arabia and to the Mediterranean. Barren, and almost a continuation of the Arabian wilderness, it assumes a garden-like fertility as its hills approach to the sea; the forests of Lebanon and Carmel, with the groves of the Daphne, the orchards of Damascus, with the vines of the hills of Judea, and the corn of its plains, once ranked among the most luxuriant and among the most cultivated spots of the earth; while Arabia, farther to the south, formed a desolate contrast, stripped of all vegetation but the few palms which indicated the secret waters of the desert, or the prickly plants upon which the camel alone could browse; and its sterile uniformity was only interrupted by mountains, which broke the clouds, and retained their waters in the wells of the rock, and which formed upon their terraced sides the gardens of the burning wastes around them. These mountains, becoming frequent and continuous towards the south, enclosed the happy Arabia, where hills and valleys, showers and sunshine, produce a variety and verdure, the reverse of the burnt-up expanse of the sands.

The north of Africa is on a larger scale, and, to an intenser degree, a repetition of the heat and barrenness of Arabia, with two lines of vegetation interrupting its immense sterility. The course of the Nile on the east, and the Mediterranean with

the range of Atlas to the north, secure each a strip of northern Africa from the barrenness of the rest. The vale of the Nile widens towards its mouth, and the double valley of Atlas, on either side of it, stretches farther as the shores of the Atlantic are joined to those of the Mediterranean; while the islands of verdure in Africa are still more remarkable than those of Arabia from the vaster desolation around them. Beyond the great Sahara, the most sterile region of the world, arises the most productive and fertile,—central Africa, where heat and moisture, the two great instruments of vegetation, are most abundant, and where the mountains, and the sides of the lakes and rivers, are the most overgrown with vegetation and teeming with life. Africa presents some variety of feature on its eastern and western sides. The eastern appears to be the most elevated and open. To the west are the mouths of the largest and most frequent rivers, and the most fertile and irrigated plains. On the west the inhabitants subsist by cultivating patches cleared out of the immense forests, and to the east they wander with their herds over a less fertile, but, at the same time, a less overgrown country. This elevated table-land becomes still more pervious as it approaches the Cape of Good Hope. The whole of Africa may be considered as being under the heats of the torrid zone, except at its two extremities, along the shores of the Mediterranean, and in the neighbourhood of the Cape, where the

productions of the temperate zone arrive at perfection.

Europe is the temperate region of the earth, where all the extremes of temperature are arrested and modified by its insular and intersected situation. The east of Europe partakes of the character of the Steppes of Asia, but is fitter for cultivation ; and, while merchandise can only be transported along the high and parched plains of Asia by beasts of burden, the rivers of Russia are navigable, and afford an easy communication by water.—As the mainland of Europe is prolonged to the south-west, the land increases in fertility, and in its aptitude for agriculture. Poland, Germany, and France, have each been the nurse of three great races of men—the Sarmatian, the Gothic, and the Celtic ; and the two seas by which Europe is intersected, the Mediterranean and the Baltic, have been the earliest scenes of the Grecian and the Gothic tribes, to whom ancient and modern Europe owe their civilization and renown ; while Spain, Portugal, and Britain, the frontiers and outposts of the old world towards the west, have spread themselves over a new continent, and begun a fresh career of glory upon the opposite side of the globe.

America is separated into two subdivisions, by the ocean, which has formed the gulf of Mexico, and has broken the continuity of the United States, and the Caraccas, by intervening seas, and a number of islands. Each nation has obtained that por-

tion of the continent of the new world, which was most adapted to its previous habits.

The United States, while they possess the finest inland communication in the world, are admirably placed for intercourse with the West India Islands, and with Europe. The Brazils are well situated on the other hand, for extending the influence acquired by the Portuguese, for becoming the emporium between Europe and the east; and for receiving into their own soil, and rearing to perfection the rich productions of those islands which the Portuguese have lost for ever. The United States possess every variety of temperature and of soil, from the mouths of Missouri and the Mississippi, to the alluvial plains of New Orleans; and from the snows and barrenness of the rocky mountains, to the perpetual bloom of the Floridas; while the Brazils to the north, and towards the line, approach the climate and the luxuriance of Africa; and in their more temperate hills and valleys towards the south are able to rear the tea plant and the productions of China. The Spaniards, in the new as in the old world, and in modern as in ancient times, are the great possessors of mines; and spread themselves along the back of the Andes, as other nations spread themselves along the valleys of rivers and live an aerial people above the clouds, and have built their cities in the higher and purer regions of the air; and while the Americans are placed over against Europe, and the Brazilians are advantageously situated in the neighbourhood of Africa, the

Spaniards, from the ridge of the Andes overlook that vast ocean, which will soon open to them a direct communication with China, and the islands of the South Sea, and connect by a new channel, the gold and silver of the west, with the rich productions of the east.

RISE OF FALSE RELIGIONS.

II. The different false religions which have prevailed in the world, have introduced new divisions, and altered the natural boundaries of mountains, rivers, and seas, in the classification of nations.—These false religions might be divided into those of the race of Shem, of the race of Japhet, of the Africans, and of the Americans.

Traces of the true religion remained longest in the race of Shem, who did not emigrate to so great a distance from the parent seats of mankind. In the days of Job, a pure religion had spread over Idumea, and along the confines of Arabia. At a later period, the Chaldean shepherds were classed with the Jews, by the Greeks, as worshippers of one only God; though the Chaldeans of Babylon admitted a variety of images; and before the time of Mahomet, the chiefs and poets of Arabia were Unitarians, though the multitude of the nation worshipped the black stone and Hobal, and the three hundred and sixty idols at Mecca. When the race of Shem lapsed into idolatry, it was idolatry of the primitive and simplest texture, the worship of the heavenly bodies. Baal or the Lord, who was their

principal idol, was the sun, the Lord of the heavens, and Astaroth, the female planet, the moon; and then like Isis in a secondary sense, the plastic nature the oriental Venus, the world rising in beauty from the waters of chaos. The Caaba, or black and meteoric stone of Mecca, like the Diana of the Ephesians, was worshipped as having fallen from those heavens which they adored. Hobal has been well conjectured to be the sun, and the three hundred and sixty idols to be the genii presiding over the days of the year.

The idolatry of the race of Japhet was more complicated: to the worship of the heavenly bodies, they had added the deification of their deceased heroes, and had disguised the elements of their early worship under a multitude of personifications and emblems; through all the distant and numerous branches of the race, the same features of mythology were preserved, though with their national and characteristic differences. The deities of the Celts and the Goths found their parallels among the Greeks, Olympus reappears in Valhalla and Meru; and the same train of deities peopled the oak groves of the Celts, the shores of the Baltic, the mountains of Greece, and the rivers of India. The pastoral tribes of Iran and Touran, of all those whose languages are attached to the Indo-European stock, maintained with a simpler manner of life, a simpler worship. The Scythians adored the sun, the earliest form of superstition, and sacrificed to him the swiftest of horses, as the

offering most grateful to the swiftest of beings; while the Persians, retaining the same worship, exalted it into the adoration of the universal fire, and superadded to it the doctrines of the two principles of light and darkness, of good and of evil. The Egyptians and Phenicians, though of a different race, yet as living in a similar state of society, possessed in some degree a similar worship to that of the Greeks; in Egypt, the variety of deities consisted in the modified forms of Isis and Osiris.—Osiris, or the Sun, becomes a new deity, whenever he enters a new celestial sign, and the varied appearances of the gods are the emblems, of the different aspects of the celestial luminary towards Egypt. Isis is now the moon, and now the earth, and in general the passive nature, which reflects the light and receives the influences of Osiris; while Hercules and his twelve labours represent the sun passing through the twelve signs of zodiac, accomplishing his great revolutions, and fulfilling the year. The mythology of the Tyrians and Carthagenians approached still nearer the mythology of the Greeks and Romans; the ocean, the patron deity of mercantile nations; time, who devours his own children; Baal, who is at once the sun, and the whole visible heavens, the Jupiter of the Etruscans, were equally worshipped by them all. This polytheism received its most complicated and finished structure in India. The Indian mythology may be divided into three stages, the first previous to the period of their writings, but to which references are made as the

earliest of all, the simple worship of the elements ; the adoration of the heavens, of the sun, of earth, air, and water, and of the genii that dwell in them. The second creed is that which now prevails in Hindostan, the philosophical polytheism of the Bramins, where all the multitude of deities, and all the varieties of existence, are arranged according to their emanation from the one and only fountain of being, the divine, and universal nature, which modifies its own illimitable and undefined essence, by becoming Bramah, and Vishnoo, and Sevah, the creating, the preserving, and the changing power ; and from this state, including the three forms of activity, flows out into the production of all the worlds, and separates itself into the individual consciousness of gods, of men, and of animals, and into all the other diversified forms of Maya, or that illusion by which that which is infinite, and one, believes itself to be many, and finite. The last form is that which prevails to the east and the north of India, pantheism, in its strictest form, accompanied by the adoration of Boodh, as the great, though mortal, teacher of wisdom. The religion that originally prevailed in India beyond the Ganges, in China, and Japan, and among the simple herdsmen of the north, both Moguls and Mandshurs, was the worship of the elements, and of the genii that reside in them, and which may be called Shamanism, though that name is vaguely applied, and often made to designate a newer and more complicated creed. To this inartificial worship was added a belief in the power

which their priests or sorcerers possessed over the genii, and their knowledge of those secrets which prolong life, or avert disease. This rude belief still remains among the multitude in the north east of Asia ; but it has gradually been forsaken by the rich, and even by numbers among the inferior classes, for fresh importations of superstition, which have reached them in two forms, and from two different channels ; the religion of the Lamas, and the religion of the Bonzes, both of which have sprung from India, and from the last of the Indian incarnations, that of Boodhah.

The superstition of Africa is very peculiar. In all nations we must distinguish between its superstitious practices, and that creed upon which those superstitious practices are founded ; the former keep a much greater hold over the mind of the people than the latter, and still continue after the creed on which they rested has passed away. The misletoe was held in reverence after the druids and their consecrated oaks had perished, and talismans were confided in by those who passed the aspect of the stars unregarded, under which they were formed. Africa is the country where there is least of a religious creed, and most of a superstitious practice. Their mythology is slight and undefined, they pay some uncertain reverence to the sun and moon, to the ocean, to the rocks, or the fountains of celebrated rivers ; to the serpent, and to animals of prey ; but they have no fixed creed, and in all circumstances have small regard to what is future and

invisible. They resemble a nation, who, by some sudden revolution, had lost their priests and their idols, and with them, the theory which gave consistency and connection to their wild and barbarous rites. But the corruptions of superstition, which is itself the corruption of religion, remain in full force among them. Witchcraft or ohea, which retains the same name as it did in Judea, when she of Endor, who had the spirit of Ob, practised it, prevails to a wonderful extent, accompanied with all the terror with which the sense of a malignant being and the dread of evil invests it; but what is most remarkable, is that of fetichism usurping the place of all other superstition. Several tribes of the American Indians have indeed their fetiches, to which they give the name of their medicine, borrowing a name from that which appears to them to work as by a charm; and other nations have imagined, by their choice of some idol, to confer upon it, by that very act, some peculiar virtues; but it is strange to behold numberless tribes of men imagining that their choice, or even their caprice, invests any casual object with a power over their lives or destiny, and confers upon that which was before insignificant a sort of African deification. When the great objects of nature, as the ocean, or destructive animals of prey, the African tiger, or the lion are assumed as the national fetiche, the reason of the choice is more apparent, still fetichism and the universality of the practice marks the lowest state of degradation of the human mind. Their

strong belief in the safie or spell by which any portion of writing is supposed to operate as a charm, for the protection of the wearer, may in some degree be traced to the early conquests of the Mahomedans over the negro states upon the Niger, and the superiority which the unlettered negroes were forced to recognise in the men of the book ; a superiority which they doubtless accounted for on the principles of their own philosophy, that of magic ; but this superstition, such as it is, may be turned to good account.

The American savages, like the Africans, had no great or fixed system of superstition ; but rude as they were, they were more thoughtful, and had a deeper impression of a future state. The spirits of their deceased ancestors peopled a world of shadows ; and the great spirit, mindful of the living and the departed, extended his care over both. When their tribes assumed the consistence of a state, the sun received an established worship at Natchez and at Peru ; and the mythology of Mexico was modelled after the same principles as the Polytheism of Egypt and ancient Europe. It is from this enumeration evident that all the superstitions of the world are either founded upon the worship of the elements, or are interwoven with it. And while any of the sciences is sufficient to point out the absurdities in which they are involved, the science of chemistry destroys the very existence of these elements themselves as simple bodies.

The difference of religion introduces divisions

into the moral world, which vary from those of the natural. These new divisions are, Christendom, the Mahometan countries, south-eastern Asia, including the country of the Moguls, and the Mandshurs, and central Africa. In these divisions, not only the same religion prevails, but a similarity of manners, and of philosophical opinion; and the same means of religious conversion must be applied to each of these great ranges of country.

Christendom not only embraces Europe, but is spreading over America, and will ultimately scatter the seeds of its civilization, languages, and religion, over the islands of the ocean, the north of Asia, and the southern extremity of Africa; and this, without design or forethought, but in the natural course of events, from the expansiveness of its own energies, and from the inherent advantages of civilization over barbarism, wherever they are brought into close and frequent contact. In all that variety of lands, and remoteness of regions, the same poets will hold up the glass to nature, the same examples of life will be admired and imitated, the same recollections of the past, and hopes for the future, will be cherished, and one pulse and spirit circling through their utmost extremities will infuse one life into them all.

The Mahometans, on the other hand are bound together by still closer ties, and from Samarcand and Bochara to the Niger, and from Atlas to the Spice Islands of the east, their eyes are not more certainly directed each day towards Mecca, than

their thoughts are directed and narrowed into the same circle of prescribed and inveterate ignorance. The repetitions of the same thoughts, and the paucity of images among their poets, in vain attempted to be concealed by the most violent and accumulated metaphors, are but a faithful copy of their monotonous life, and the fettered range of their existence, encumbered alike by the observances of antiquity and of superstition; and man, under the yoke of the Arabian impostor, throughout the variety of events, remains one and the same, while seas intervene without any diversity of his habits, and ages elapse without any improvement of his condition.

Again, among the many tribes and tongues that people the fertile regions to the east of the Indus, the reception of the incarnation of Boodh forms a point of re-union amidst the various differences of their creeds. The same confusion of matter with the principle of evil, and the belief that finite existence is inseparably connected with misery, lead the sages of these countries to sigh for absorption as the only good, and to detach themselves by abstraction from life, which in every form is wretched; while the vulgar expect only a temporal heaven, which must soon give place to those ever-renewed revolutions which have first produced, and then destroyed, a succession of new deities and of other worlds. And, though different countries eastward of the Indus have each their native philosophers, and a characteristic and national philosophy, they

possess in common many of the doctrines of the Hindoos, which have been everywhere carried by the Bonzees in their distant migrations from India.

Throughout Africa, to the south of the great desert, the same dark superstitions and magical rites prevail ; the same barbarous customs, and the same infancy of the understanding. The means the most fitted for civilizing one part are those which are applicable to all, and a similarity and repetition of the same evils everywhere indicate and demand a similarity of cure.

The civilization of each of these four great regions has proceeded from the same events, and has the same character and advancement. All the European states partake of the impulse which they received from the recovery of classical learning, and from the discovery of America, and of printing. The Mahomedan states take the colour of their civilization from that of the Caliphat, and of the Arabs. The same tales entertain them ; their poetry retains and repeats the same images as it did in the verses of the early bards of Arabia and of Persia, and science has remained fixed in the state in which it was left by Avicenna and Averroes. Asia beyond the Indus preserves, as we before observed, that antique mode of life, and measure of learning, that belonged to the ancient monarchies of Chaldea and Egypt—still worshipping similar idols, and reverent of the same high and mystical philosophy. And in Africa, the work of civilization is scarcely yet begun, or, where it is begun, is soon

terminated by the frequency of wars and disasters ; so that, everywhere prevails the utmost fertility of nature, and everywhere art is wanted, on the part of man, to avail himself of her bounty. The world is thus divided into four moral quarters—Christendom, the Mahometan countries, south-eastern Asia, and central Africa ; which each require a separate consideration.

NOMINAL CHRISTENDOM.

III. Christendom naturally divides itself into the Protestant states, the Roman Catholic, and those of the Greek church. Of these, the Protestants alone can be extensively and actively useful, and the others must be operated upon rather than be themselves the instruments of conveying good to others. Even of the Protestant states, few are sufficient to satisfy their own wants, and the burden rests chiefly upon Britain of setting every enterprise in motion, and of carrying it onward to perfection for the conversion of the world. Of the British dominions England and Scotland are nearly on a par. Both of these can supply their own wants, and afford assistance to others ; but even before quitting the British isles, we find Ireland in a more destitute condition, and more dependent on extrinsic aid than many of the kingdoms on the continent. The misery of Ireland is of inveterate standing—the result of complicated misfortunes ; and no single remedy is altogether adequate for its relief. It has been imperfectly conquered and imperfectly gov-

erned. It has been but half civilized, and is certainly not half Christianized. Popery there exists in its worst form of slavish and blindfold bigotry; and the errors of the darkest ages remain undispersed by the increasing light which is spreading over the rest of Europe. The English seem purposely to have prolonged the struggle with the Irish, by always preserving at once a feeble and a hostile attitude, and neither exerting the clemency which conciliates nor the force which overpowers. As their acquisition of Ireland began by private adventure, so it has continued on somewhat of the same footing, and their dominion has spread rather by petty marauding, and harassing inroads, than by one great national and recognised subjugation. The order of nature has here been reversed; the native has ever been less considered than the foreigner; the interests of the Irish have always been postponed to those of the English, and those of the English colonists, in their turn, have been as readily sacrificed to a venal and corrupt oligarchy—no wonder that an inverted pyramid is not stable. A difference of religion has aggravated a difference of political interest; that which, with respect to numbers, is a small sect, becomes, by the assistance of the bayonet, the established church, and poverty the most squalid is ground to the dust, to enrich what it believes to be a heresy as fatal to the souls as it actually finds it to be to the bodies of men. To emancipate the Irish would be but an act of justice; but yet it could not of itself repair the injuries of

centuries; and it would too nearly resemble the Roman emancipation, where the filial slave had first to change his master before he finally regained his liberty. What was saved from the established church of Ireland would be devoured by the church of Rome. In order to emancipate the Irish from vice and ignorance, from the priestcraft of the Romish clergy, and from bigotry as absurd as it is cruel, Ireland stands in need of the zeal, the energy, and the genius of the first reformers. So palpable is its darkness, that nothing but the truth being brought to bear in every form, upon every class, can bring it up to the level of the rest of Europe. A general society is much wanted, to encourage the preaching of the gospel upon a broad and catholic foundation; which, not confined to a few scattered corners, but embracing the country at large, and ramified in every direction, should not leave error unmolested in any of its retreats, but bring the light steadily and vividly to shine upon it. Nor would such a society necessarily require a great expenditure if a rigid economy could once be connected with religious undertakings. The best plan would consist in employing two sets of labourers, the one exhorters, and the other preachers; the first moving in the same sphere as the mass of the people, supported at small expense, and disseminating without noise, their opinions from house to house, would act as guides and pioneers to the second, would smooth the way for them, and secure them audiences, that their preaching might not be in vain.

Thirty preachers, and a hundred exhorters, the first at a hundred a-year, the second at thirty pounds a-year, each, and in the whole, at an expense of L.6000 a-year, would cover Ireland entirely in a perpetual circuit, and would at once spread the truth over the face of the country ; while their secondary aim would be to concentrate their efforts for a time upon particular spots, where circumstances might appear most favourable.

Before proceeding to the British colonies, the United States of America present themselves as the country which, next to Britain, and indeed the only one along with Britain, has the most ample resources to spread the knowledge of the truth over different countries, and which in its rapidly increasing greatness, will find aids and supplies larger than has yet been possessed by any empire for benefitting mankind. They are descended from ancestors who, like the father of the faithful, for the sake of truth, went to a land which they knew not ; and, like the children of Abraham, as they have the truth in their keeping, we may trust that they will carry it wide, even to the ends of the earth ; they have no need of a dispersion to spread them abroad among the nations, for even now, in the infancy of their origin, their vessels touch upon every coast, their inhabitants sojourn in every country, and even without their intentional efforts, religion grows with their growth, and strengthens with their strength ; they carry their altars with them into the wilderness, and through them civilization

and Christianity will flow on with an ever-enlarging stream, till they cover the shores of the Pacific.— Even then, the ocean will not terminate their progress, but rather open out a passage to the shores of eastern Asia, till both the old and the new world are united, and flourish beneath the same arts, and the same religion. As the British language and line is spreading not only over America, but has taken root in Africa and Asia, and is doubtless destined by Providence to spread far and wide the blessings he has confided to Britain, not for her own use only, but as a sacred deposit for the world at large, a society that watched over the interests of religion in these rising settlements, would forward and ensure the advantages which may certainly be expected from them ; and by inciting the different denominations of christians to supply with ministers the emigrants connected with them, would see converts flow in, and churches erected, with a rapidity which it would be too sanguine to calculate upon in any other field of exertion.

Upon the continent of Europe, the decaying embers of the protestant churches will be soonest kindled into a flame ; and by recalling them to their first faith, and first fire, bands of missionaries might be raised and trained up, renewing the days of the preaching of Luther, and the early reformers ; the cause of truth would gain ground on every side, and the mystical Babylon tremble to its foundations. Europe naturally divides itself into the north and south ; and two great nations, France and Ger-

many, afford the best inlets, and supply the fittest labourers for further advancement. France has always taken the lead among the nations of the south of Europe, who, like it, formed of iron and clay, are of mixed Roman and Gothic descent, speaking kindred corruptions of the same great language, and retaining in their writings, as in their monuments, some broken fragments of the Roman policy and civilization. To the north of the Rhine, the genius of Germany predominates; her philosophers, her oracles, and her poets, are admired and imitated. She has imbued the literature of the north with her own colouring, and her language takes the place of French, as the common medium among foreigners of the middle rank. Should a great revival of religion take place in Germany, it will not only spread as at the reformation, through the kindred nations, the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, but find its way through Poland and Russia, and perpetuate the impulse throughout the extremities of the north.

The catholic church is wasting away by a slow, though certain decay; when the cause ceases, the effect must cease; and as the ignorance is dissipated, and the political circumstances are undermined, which gave it support, the whole edifice of tyranny and superstition must at length fall to the ground.—Even in countries the most shrouded from the light, Spain and Portugal, liberal principles prevail in that class which at length gives the tone to all others, the young, the intelligent, and the active. The

church of Rome has the whole tide of modern opinion directed against it, and has nothing to resist it but passive ignorance, or blindfold fury ; and the precarious aid which it receives from the monarchs of Europe, who themselves are struggling against the stream, which, unless they act with more wisdom, must sooner or later overwhelm them. Fortunately for popery, and unfortunately for mankind, there is no Luther, whose voice might awake the slumberers, and produce that reform by reason, and an appeal to Scripture, which otherwise will be produced by the political storms about to desolate Europe, if force is the only remedy which popes and kings continue to apply to that increasing desire of amelioration which is deeply seated in the hearts of men, and is urged imperiously by the changes in human affairs, and by the development of society. It were to be wished that some men of great talents upon the continent should devote themselves to the work of exposing, in their full extent, the horrors of that false church, which has filled Europe with martyrs ; so that the earth might no more cover her slain, but that the cry of blood might rise to heaven for deliverance.

The Greek church, which partakes of the same corruptions with the Romish, has more the excuse of ignorance, and is more open to improvement ; the Bible once had free course, throughout the vast dominions of the emperor of Russia, and education is encouraged by a monarch who has not much to dread for some ages, from the civilization of his

subjects : while Greece, when politically free and independent, may aspire to higher liberty than she dreams of at present ; may shake off the fetters of superstition, as well as of slavery, and break to pieces that worse and spiritual yoke whose iron enters the soul.

MAHOMEDAN COUNTRIES.

IV. The mention of Greece leads us to her Mahomedan oppressors, and to the second division of the moral world ; and though the progress of knowledge has had less effect upon the Mahomedans, or rather has had no effect upon them, except in the defeats which they have sustained from their more enlightened neighbours in the art of war ; yet that unbroken front of opposition which they present at first view, to whatever tends to the welfare of man, has some openings ; and the mass is more permeable than might at first be supposed : the principle of evil, though strongly intrenched against christianity, is also divided against itself ; and the compactness of the body is broken by their mutual schisms. Persia, by its heresy and its position, divides the orthodox Mussulmans into two ; but while it weakens their strength by its adherence to the memory of Ali, the followers of Ali themselves are weakened by the canker of the old philosophy of the east, which has reappeared under a Mahometan disguise, in the soofie system. The Wahabees, who have attempted a revival of primitive Islamism, and endeavoured to reduce modern alterations to the sim-

plicity of creed and manners of the time of Mahomet, will weaken, either by their success or their failure, the cause of their prophet, and thus prepare the minds of the Bedouins for new changes. Another cause of weakness in the Mahometan kingdoms is their want of consolidation; they contain within themselves the remnant of former creeds, and of other nations, the ancient possessors of the soil; the traces of idolatry are still discernible amongst the tribes of remote mountains; the emanative philosophy of the east is not altogether effaced in the valleys of Lebanon; and Ahriman, the power of evil, to this day receives offerings in the caves of Mount Singar. The christians, in all their varieties of sects, survive under the haratch, or capitation tax, with complete toleration for every thing except the possession of money; and a wide field for cautious missionary exertion, undisturbed except by the jealousies of christian priests, is opened throughout the greatest extent of Mahomedan countries. Even where the christians have been almost wasted away, as on the coasts of Barbary, the Jews remain, and afford scope for exertion, unattended with any obvious danger. It is a proof, if any proof were needful, how little has been done for remote countries, the profession of physic having been so little used, for exploring their recesses, and conveying to them under the safeguard of a science esteemed sacred, those improvements which would not otherwise be introduced. There can be no doubt that medical colleges would be sanctioned by the governments of

Mahometan countries, especially for christian students ; and that a European teacher might direct their attention, not only to the sources of medical but of religious information ; and far from shocking their prejudices by doing so cautiously, he would merit their respect, in countries where religious zeal, within certain bounds, is expected, and esteemed. It is to be feared, however, that the fate of Mahometan countries will not be so fortunate as to receive those European improvements which would enable them to keep their rank as independent nations, and to resist the encroachments of their less stationary neighbours. That violence by which they have been founded and maintained will at length be the cause of their ruin ; they that take to the sword will perish by the sword. They contain within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution ; every contested succession in Persia, and every succession is likely to be contested, would sever a province from the kingdom, if the sovereign of Russia were enterprising and aggressive. A single campaign might conduct a christian army to Constantinople, which chiefly remains in the hands of the infidels, from the mutual jealousy of the European powers ; and though all the rebellions of the different Pachas have as yet ended in the loss of their heads, and the parts of the Ottoman empire, which had been severed for a time, have easily reunited ; yet life circulates more languidly through the members of that vast bulk ; and the Ottomans themselves have a melancholy sense of

their past grandeur and present decay. They that appeal to the sword, in every sense perish by the sword ; the loss of a battle is also the loss of an argument, and every defeat thus doubly weakens the cause of the Moslem, and gives rise to the most fanatical and gloomy forebodings of the loss of their empire and religion.

If the sovereignty of the Turks were destroyed, and the Persians crippled, the rest of the Mahometans would remain a disjointed trunk, without its head, and deprived of animation ; the appeal which Mahomet made to victory, would then hasten the final overthrow of his imposture ; for while other sects languish in obscurity, a creed which claims to be ever victorious, till the end of the world approaches, must either continue to be powerful, or be speedily forsaken.

EASTERN ASIA.

V. The third division contains one-half of the population of the world, nourished in those fertile valleys, and alluvial plains, which are formed by the rivers that spring from the table land of Central Asia ; barren indeed, as it extends towards the north, and thinly peopled ; and where its scattered tribes still wander about with their flocks, and preserve the manners of the first patriarchs ; but to the south, teeming with population, and in the two great races by which it is inhabited, the Hindoos and Chinese, presenting an ancient, though distinct, and somewhat different civilization. The civilization of

the Chinese is political, that of the Hindoo religious. The philosophy, as well as the religion of the Chinese, concur to support a patriarchal despotism, and tend to perpetuate the institutions which they have received from their ancestors ; while even the civil institutions of the Hindoos, if not formed upon, are accommodated to the wild notions of their mystic superstition. The Hindoos are the thinking people of Eastern Asia, their doctrines have spread to Siberia and Japan, and the new system which has been transplanted from Hindostan has overshadowed and nearly rooted out the native superstitions of Central Asia, as well as of China, and has spread itself, with the Malay colonies, over the islands of the southern ocean. Thus, India has already changed the religion of the east, and may well change it again. If christianity had once taken possession of India, missionaries in abundance would be found among the Hindoos, who would carry the gospel along with them to nations who already look to India as the fountain from which spiritual light has streamed out to them. It has been objected, for to what will men not object which is contrary to their inclinations ? that the character of the Hindoos will not admit of change, and that it is impossible to convert them ; but this is an objection which is alike refuted by history, by reason, and by religion ; the Mohamedan conquerors have left behind them abundant traces of the possibility of changing the faith of the Hindoos, though their method of conversion was not likely to be the most

successful, as the courage and the enterprise which marked the beginning of their dynasties, soon changed into effeminacy; the intolerance with which they assailed the Hindoos at first, ended in religious indifference; nor was there any interval between persecution and acquiescence, which they filled up by commending the reasonableness of the unity of the Godhead to the conviction of the Hindoos. Still Mussulmans abound in India, not merely the descendants of the Mogul conquerors, but multitudes of those who have been won over from the native creed. The religion of the Hindoos has frequently changed without any foreign impulsion, the early worship of the elements has yielded to the complexity of the Braminical polytheism. Polytheism for a time seemed to bend under the pantheism of the Budhists, and then by a new revolution regained its former ascendancy; even within that polytheism itself, rival sects are ever rising and decaying; and the slightest acquaintance, either with the present or past state of the Hindoos, may show that the human mind with them has not altered its character, or lost its desire of change, and that if it is prone to error it is also prone to novelty. Reason also might demonstrate, that no forms of opinion can be perpetual, except those that are founded upon immutable truth. All errors have arisen from a combination of circumstances; and when that combination is dissolved, and the causes which gave birth to them cease to operate, the errors gradually lose their hold over the mind, and fall to decay. Again, from reli-

gion we have the sure word of prophecy, that every idol under heaven shall be broken; and as this has been fulfilled with respect to Greece and her idols, so it shall soon be fulfilled with respect to India and her idols. Polytheism only takes root in that rude and imperfect civilization which prevails in the infancy of nations, when the other faculties are swallowed up by sense, and where the priesthood represent in strange shapes, and fantastic emblems, to the eye of the vulgar, the hidden powers of nature; but the mind does not more certainly fall into idolatry when dark, uncultivated, and bent by superstitious fears, than it certainly emerges from it, when the light of instruction breaks in upon it, and education lifts it into a higher sphere of activity. Transform a people immersed in sense into a nation thoughtful and intellectual, and they will cease of themselves to be idolaters, and will adapt their creed to the change in their moral condition. It is thus, that while the vulgar of all countries, unenlightened by revelation, have been Polytheists, the philosophers of all nations have been Pantheists, remodelling the creed of their country to fit their own philosophical apprehensions; but Pantheism itself is but an intermediate state of the human mind, composed half of light and half of darkness, and destined to disappear before the full day of truth. As the philosophy of Bacon and Newton gain ground, juster views of the universe will render it impossible that the Vedanta doctrine should retain an implicit assent; and will prove that the visible world, far from being a revelation, or rather an illusion, of the

Infinite, is only a number of atoms thinly scattered throughout vacancy. Education, while it conveys the elements of real knowledge, will effectually destroy the elements of superstition, change that turn of mind on which superstition is founded, and occupy the inlets of fresh errors, by filling the mind with substantial truths; while colleges by introducing the philosophy of Europe, will gradually spread sounder notions of the laws of nature and existence and wean the learned of Hindostan from that monstrous system, which is ever confounding the creature with the Creator. The modern system of education is admirably fitted both for the Hindoos and the Chinese, who are well aware of many of the advantages of learning, on whom knowledge confers both honour and emolument, and with whom complete ignorance of letters is more unusual than in some countries of Europe. In this state of society, there is much that is ready and prepared for missionary exertion; and if obstacles occur, and difficulties suggest themselves, the case is not altogether different from what it would be in the most enlightened countries of the world. It is a common complaint among the missionaries who have laboured among the Hindoos, that their education is limited, and often abruptly broken off, by any prospect of immediate gain; an obstacle to instruction not confined to Hindostan, but common to England and other countries, where the erection of a manufactory and the employment of children immediately deteriorates and shortens, if it does not altogether

suspend their instruction; but neither in England nor in India can such obstacles arrest the general course of improvement, the demand for labour is not unlimited, and a large portion of the rising generation are left at leisure for the acquisition of competent information; besides, this is an evil which education itself cures, the more common it becomes, the more it will be esteemed one of the necessities of life; and the demand for those that are but imperfectly instructed, will be superseded by the supply of those who have received a complete education. Colleges in India will confer upon a selection of those who have received an elementary education such a measure of knowledge as will enable the Hindoos again to make advances in science, and will place that intellectual race, to whom knowledge already owes much, a second time in the front of civilization. If a regular system is pursued of affording every variety of information to the Hindoos, their present system of superstition and philosophy will not be able to stand the shock, and will give way on all sides with an extent and a rapidity of ruin, proportioned to the bulk of the pile which is undermined; and if christians are not negligent of their duty, true religion will be introduced with true philosophy, and each will take the place of their respective counterfeits. The stream of science would not only proceed in its usual course, but the fountains of English literature being also opened, a sudden and copious flood would cover and fertilize the shores of India, with a like impetuosity as at

the revival of letters ancient knowledge was poured in upon Europe, when the great deep of classical literature was once broken up. What England has been gaining during many centuries, might in a few generations be communicated to the Hindoos. Prospects the most cheering may be overcast, and the progress of improvement at once arrested by one of those sudden revolutions, which mock all calculation, both in their arrival and in their results; but though in matters merely political, such changes in the state may baffle the fairest conjectures, which proceed upon the supposition of the continuance of national prosperity, yet in the expectation of religious improvement, we have more certain ground to rest upon. We know not whether God intends the stability of particular nations; but we know that he makes all revolutions subservient to the introduction of his own kingdom, that the appointed years of delay are now elapsing, and that the time to favour the gentiles is at hand. A great improvement in the moral condition of Hindostan is therefore certain in the natural course of events, and still more certain in the interruption of those events by which God breaks in pieces the obstacles to his designs; whether in a political calm or storm, the mustard seed which has been sown will become a great tree, and spread wide the shadow of its branches, and any changes in the body politic will ultimately accelerate that great change from darkness to light, by which Hindostan will become full of the knowledge of the Lord. Nothing was ever

more beyond all human calculation, than that England should become the mistress of India ; that an island thinly peopled with barbarians, the prey of every roving pirate, should, after so immense a navigation, “ far as the sea-fowl in a year can fly,” subdue the empire of Sandracottus, overcome that hostile array that terrified the soldiers of Timour, and, with handfuls of men, put myriads to flight. That such events did not happen without the divine will and guidance, even heathens would acknowledge ; it is thus that God casts a stain upon all human glory—by the weak things overcomes the strong, and baffles all the conjectures of human prudence. But if Britain thus holds India, it holds it by an imperative condition, that of being subservient to the designs of providence ; and when that condition is not complied with, the possession ceases along with its infraction. The Portuguese and the Dutch have already been our fore-runners ; but the one pursued the course of its own cruel bigotry, and the other its gain, and neither of them did the work of the Lord ; if we follow, instead of avoiding their example, and neglect to make known so great salvation, the empire will be taken from us and given to another nation ; our conquests will pass away like a dream, and the time of our benefiting India will be closed for ever ; but let us hope better things of Britain, and that the nation and the government will at length co-operate in spreading every blessing in ameliorating the temporal and spiritual condition of the Hindoos, in fulfilling to

the uttermost the sacred trust reposed, and in securing to themselves the perpetual gratitude of India.

India christianized would again send forth a new race of teachers, carrying with them the true doctrines of life and immortality, and showing the way of escape from the miseries of life; and, as the Bonzees have penetrated to the remotest extremes of Asia, and displaced opinions of long standing, which were suited to a simpler state of society, so christianity, considered merely as a system adapted to the human mind, will penetrate through all these regions, bringing science and the arts in her train, and establish upon the ruins of all former opinions, a pure worship and a genuine philosophy. The trance which has spell-bound the faculties of the human mind would be broken, and the stream of human improvement would again flow on after its long winter. Those beautiful regions, so teeming with vegetation, and crowded with life, would render their resources to the cause and services of humanity; and the eastern sages, who are now trying to arrest every motion of the mind, and to fix it upon one imaginary object, would have all their faculties exercised in the pursuit of truth, and in the contemplation of that object which is indeed divine and existing. But the country beyond the Ganges has not to wait for missionaries from Hindostan; the work is already well and prosperously begun among the Chinese without China; who, freed from the paternal vigilance of the despotism of their country are accessible to all efforts to enlighten them, whe-

ther by books, by education, or by preaching ; and who, in their constant migrations, between China and the islands of the Indian Sea, afford an ever-continued communication with the mother country, and means of penetrating into it, which no caution or strictness can guard against. It is thus that the region which is most strongly defended against the entrance of truth has yet its vulnerable points, and the Chinese, who, in their own country, are inaccessible to instruction, are here brought into the best situation for their teachers, with their prejudices weakened by their distance from home ; while between India and China, the American mission among the Burmans has succeeded as yet beyond reasonable expectation, and affords good hope for the future condition of one of the most intelligent and energetic races of eastern Asia.

CENTRAL AFRICA.

VI. The fourth and least hopeful division is Central Africa, which has ever been cut off from any full or salutary influence from the other parts of the world, and has only had the misery, which has ever prevailed there, heightened by its intercourse with more enlightened states; but which yet is the country which nature has blessed with the most abundant fertility, where life is most vivid, and all productions on the largest scale ; and when the years of its suffering are accomplished, we may expect it will be as prolific of good as it has been of what is noxious and monstrous, and become the garden of the Lord,

flourishing with a luxuriance and profusion unknown to other climates. If Africa still remains unknown in its remoter regions, and no eye which could mark them with intelligence has viewed the wonders which it conceals in its interior, still, upon comparing the journies which the Portuguese have completed from sea to sea with the new discoveries which have lately been made respecting the kingdom of Bornou, and the information recently acquired concerning the tribes on the eastern coast, a notion not far from the truth might be formed of its general features. As usual, by being better known, it has lost somewhat of its imaginary grandeur. The true position of Bornou has enlarged the formless waste of the great Zahara, and circumscribed within narrower limits, those regions on which the sun and the rains of the tropics bestow a boundless fertility; while, on the other hand, the eastern and elevated table-land, which is on the side of the Indian sea, appears, with more evidence, not to possess that superabundance of growth which we are apt to ascribe to Central Africa in general, taking our notions of it from the rush of vegetation which covers its forests, and renders them impervious, along those river tracks which are the parts of Africa with which we have the most acquaintance—and, instead of finding nations more advanced in civilization, inhabiting vast cities, resplendent with gold, in the interior, and altogether unknown regions, we might chance to find that buildings almost disappear, and the last traces of cultivation along with them, and

discover nothing but barbarian hordes of the most ferocious manners, and whose occupation in the neglect of their scattered herds of cattle, was slaughter, and enslaving. By what we know of Africa, we may suppose its interior to consist of three descriptions of regions—the well-watered and amazingly fertile, that border upon rivers and inland lakes, the seat of the larger nations, where civilization has made some progress ; the second, high and isolated mountain tracts, abounding in valleys and secure defiles, like those found in the neighbourhood of Abyssinia, and where the ancient nations find a safe, though confined retreat amidst their broken and abrupt fastnesses ; the third, the elevated tableland and open mountains, which support the herds of the predatory tribes, who spread behind the coast of the southern ocean from Abyssinia to Caffraria, and who extend their excursions to the neighbourhood of the Atlantic. The same circle of devastation has been repeated from time immemorial—one ferocious nation of conquerors succeeds another, nor is there any gleam of hope, that arises from Africa itself, of a period being put to the bloodshed, and the wretchedness, with which, in every age, it has been inundated. But out of the very depth of the calamities of Africa, a prospect arises of ultimate relief—the slave trade, which heightened all the evils to which that devoted country is subject, has brought a portion of the African race into close contact with men who are civilized. Europe and Africa have been dissevered in their

fates from each other, but they have met together in the colonies of America, and the rising prospects of that new world afford the means and the hopes for the improvement and civilization of Africa.—While the Europeans, from the climate, were prevented from settling in Africa, and the Africans had no means of acquiring the knowledge of Europe, an impassable barrier seemed raised between them ; but now that both have been brought to inhabit a third country, it is comparatively easy to educate and train those negroes in America, who will be able to introduce into Africa the first rudiments of amelioration. The rapidity with which the negroes are increasing in America, and the peculiar circumstances in which they are there placed, insure a return of numbers of them to their original continent, carrying with them the languages, and not unfurnished with the acquisitions of Europe.—In a century, there will be nearly as many negroes in the United States alone as there exist in Africa itself at the present moment ; and an emigration, like that which is now carrying the Europeans to America, or the African slaves to the coast of America, will restore the descendants of those slaves to their native countries. Africa is the natural resort of the blacks that are emancipated by their white masters—placed in the new world in an ambiguous situation, between the freemen and the slaves, they can scarcely taste the sweets of liberty, while they are still considered as a degraded race, and looked upon with an evil eye, as persons who have no ascer-

tained situation in society ; but in Africa a new career awaits them ; and, while they are slighted by the whites, and every impediment thrown in their way, they will be hailed by their kindred race across the Atlantic, as the introducers of whatever is useful, and the instructors of nascent empires. What is wanting is a landing place, some settlement to receive them on their first touching the coast, from which, in time, they would spread from one tribe to another, till they diffused themselves over the interior of the continent ; and when that returning emigration to Africa has once begun, it will every year widen and extend, as one race of emigrants will smooth the passage for others, and prepare a more eager reception for those that are to follow. The increase of free blacks is greater than either that of the whites or the slaves, in proportion to their respective numbers, as they not only increase at a similar rate with the other bodies, but receive fresh additions from the emancipations, which increase each year proportionably to the increased number of slaves ; and, as juster views of the comparative value of free and slave labour gain ground, that emancipation will be farther accelerated. But, since the prejudices against the negro race will survive, as prejudices ever do the occasions which gave rise to them, the inducements for the negro race to remove to Africa will long continue to operate, and, in addition to the advantages which Africa itself holds forth, will inevitably impel them to repair to their parent seats. It is not only the Uni-

ted States, however, that contain within themselves the means and causes of giving a new form to African Society; but the empire of the Brazils, which is doubly destined to exert a wide influence, not only from its containing a number of blacks sufficient to excite a greater jealousy in the white population, but from its situation over against Africa, and the facility and the dispatch of the communication between them, and on account of the Brazils becoming ultimately the inheritors of those conquests which the Portuguese made early with so much enterprise in Africa, and which they still feebly retain. To the Brazilian descendants of the Portuguese, inured to their native tropical climate, the air of Africa would not prove so deadly as to Europeans; and in their own country they would soon be able to raise troops officered by whites, but filled up with blacks, to whom neither the climate nor the natural barriers of the country would present any insurmountable obstacle, and to whom the acquisitions that the Portuguese have formerly made, would afford an already frequented inlet to the remoter regions. It is thus that the way is everywhere prepared for science and religion visiting those dark places of the earth which hitherto have denied them an access, and that the natural progress of states, in the ordinary expansion of their growth, will spread over the earth the seeds of future happiness and knowledge. The slave vessels, which were carrying the first wretched victims of European avarice across the Atlantic, were uncon-

sciously laying the train of the future greatness of Africa, and the liberated blacks, like the Israelites delivered from Egypt, will return carrying the ark of God with them, and the blessings of religion and of social life. (I.)

THE JEWS.

VII. But though we have gone over the division of the world, there still remains one nation, who are not confined to any one division, but who are found in them all—the Jews. While they abound in Mahometan countries, and are numerous in Christendom, they have scattered themselves far into the interior of Eastern Asia, are to be found even in Central Africa, and, that no portion of the globe might be free from them, they have emigrated to the new world. In their case, the laws that modify the character of men and nations seem to be suspended; they preserve their own original character in every climate, and in every nation, among the ferocious Moors and the staid and mechanical Chinese, the same under the Inquisition in Spain as under the exterminating wars of the Roman emperors; and though, by a strange inconsistency, they who, when they were under an immediate divine government, and witnessing the many miraculous interpositions in their behalf, were ever forsaking their king and their God, now that they are without a king, and appear forsaken by God, still adhere obstinately to that law which it is no longer possible for them to observe. There is thus some-

thing so much beyond the ordinary course of nature with regard to them, that they disappoint and baffle all calculations founded upon usual probabilities, and remain to this day a peculiar people, which cannot be numbered among the nations, stricken with a judicial blindness, religiously preserving those books which contain their own condemnation.— They have everywhere, according to the prophetic denunciations, become a proverb and a by-word in all countries ; and, being despised and reproached, their character has sunk almost to deserve these reproaches ; and in morals, and in understanding, they are, generally speaking, as low as they stand in the general opinion. The christians have fallen into two opposite errors respecting them—either a culpable indifference, and a want of that gratitude which was due to them for their Father's sake, “of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came ;” or if any earnestness was felt about their state, it was accompanied with a total hopelessness of the efficacy of human means, since they seemed reserved in a miraculous manner till some great moral revolution, beyond the reach of man to accelerate, should occur. But while some have thought the conversion of the Jews the only work to be neglected in the conversion of the world, others, in return, have thought it the only work to be attended to ; and, mistaking time and occasion for casuality, have misinterpreted the words of Paul, as if they asserted that the Jews were to be the instruments of converting the world : “ If the casting away of them

be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?" The Jews who rejected Christianity were certainly neither the causes nor the instruments of the Gentiles receiving Christianity; but the time of the Jews rejecting Christ was the time of the Gentiles being received into the Church; and God took occasion from their obstinacy to show mercy to the Gentiles. If, then, that season, when judgment was mingled with mercy, was yet a season of such abounding grace as that the gentiles should be received, what shall be the time when judgment is remitted with regard to the Jews, but a time of unbounded mercy, in which the uttermost parts of the earth shall be saved, and the fulness of the Gentiles be brought in? This seems the only passage which refers to the unconverted Jews; for the other passages, which are frequently applied to them, refer to the converted Jews, upon whose ~~stock~~ the christians were grafted in, and who thus became one people, the true descendants of Abraham; and he was no longer a Jew who was one outwardly, but those were regarded as the children of Abraham who were possessed of the like faith. In all ages the words of the prophet have come to pass, "But yet in it shall be a tenth, and it shall return, and shall be eaten as a teil tree, and as an oak, whose substance is in them when they cast their leaves; so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof." The stem of the Jewish nation has been again and again cut down, and revived anew, and existed solely in

its stock. In all the judgments that have been inflicted upon them, a remnant has been saved, and a remnant only. Of the ten tribes, and the two tribes, that were alike carried away captives, the latter, and the smaller division of the Jewish nation, only returned; and of them, only a portion. In the same way, the remnant who believed in christianity, amidst the multitude of those who rejected it, and who were rejected of God in consequence, became the stock of the true church, on which the gentiles were engrafted. Their history thenceforward is the history of the church, and in them the prophecies are fulfilled. It is upon this stock that both the unbelieving gentiles must be together inserted, when the fulness of the time is come, and the kingdoms of the earth shall become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever.

To speculate concerning the manner in which the Jews shall be converted, and to be minutely particular as to every circumstance which will accompany their return, is unwarranted alike by reason and by revelation, and tends to throw discredit on the scriptures, by mixing such sick man's dreams with the oracles of truth. But every active exertion in favour of either the temporal or spiritual condition of the Jews is truly christian, and is according to the mind of that apostle, who, for the sake of his brethren, like Moses, almost wished himself cut off from Christ, and blotted from the book of life. In the efforts that have been made

to convert the Jews, those at the greatest distance being considered as the most hopeful, have been the most attended to, and societies, sending their agents to other countries, have comparatively neglected the Jews who are living in their immediate neighbourhood. But as the Jews are surrounded in christian countries by those who have it most in their power to know their characters, and their prejudices, to avail themselves of every favourable opportunity to conciliate their good-will, and to improve their temporal condition ; the best missionaries are those who live in the same town with them, and who, without either studying or travelling, are best qualified for making an impression upon them. One great cause of the prejudice of the Jews is pronounced to be their attachment to the reveries of their rabbins—the silliest, and most monstrous of all human productions ; but as a considerable portion of those who think become infidels, either attached to the system of Spinoza, or followers of the prevalent philosophy of the day, it is apparent that the superstition of the Jews, obstinate as it is, is chiefly founded on ignorance, and a blind adherence to the traditions of their fathers ; and, above all, in an enmity to christianity, which causes them to prefer any opinions to the acknowledging Jesus to be the Messiah. Education would remove one part of the obstacles to their conversion, and kindness and acquaintance on the part of christians would diminish the misunderstanding and dislike which the Jews bear to the descendants of those by

whom they have been so cruelly persecuted. It would also be extremely desirable that some learned men should devote their attention to exhibit to the Jews, under every shape, the futility of their rabbinical traditions and writings, and the insuperable difficulties under which the Mosaic dispensation labours, unless it be acknowledged that it is fulfilled and terminated in Christianity. If the Jews can once be brought to reflect, it is impossible but they must feel how untenable is their adherence to the law of Moses—a dispensation which was strictly local, and which their dispersion among the gentiles has itself abrogated and rendered of none effect. Christian kings and states have also a part to perform, and are morally bound to favour Jewish converts, as they have had their full share in blinding and hardening the Jews, and in doing all that laws and regulations could effect, for keeping them a degraded caste, and for perpetuating the prejudices of their subjects against them; and, as contempt and prejudice are reciprocal, for confirming also the prejudices of the Jews against the christians.

CHRISTIANITY UNIVERSAL.

VIII. There is one good omen for the future success of Christianity, and its universal diffusion, in the present existence of the Jews throughout every climate under heaven. When the whole world, with the exception of Judea, had lost the worship of the one only God, there seemed little prospect, in human probability, of that pure wor-

ship being restored in all the countries of the earth, and less, that it would be restored by Jews, whose very dispensation was confined to the land of Judea ; but so it is, the unity of the deity has become, in one sense, universally recognised, by the Jews being universally dispersed : and in countries, in which Christianity has failed to establish itself, the Jews remain perpetual witnesses of the unity of the Godhead. That the knowledge of the true God should, in this way, be scattered and sown over the whole earth, like seed scattered by the winds, gives hope that, in after-ages, there will be a better seed-time, and a more abundant harvest ; since Christianity, by the natural order of events, and its superiority of advanced civilization, will naturally spread over the world. Its supremacy in knowledge, its improvements in life, and its opinions in religion, are alike adapted to a higher state of civilization. It is impossible that this pre-eminence which Europe has attained, can for ever remain pent up by those mutual jealousies which have retarded the developement of the forces of its states ; and the time must come, when the torrent which has been so long resisted, will burst with accumulated strength, and precipitate itself over all the adjoining countries. Europe, even in those states where the government is worst, and information at the lowest ebb, is wonderfully increasing in population, and in knowledge, in the arts of war and of peace, in agriculture and in commerce ; and the new states of America are entering upon a fresh

career of advancement, and, while they are doubling their own resources in the rapidity of their progress, they are about to communicate a new impulse to European enterprise. The reverse is the prospect of the countries that are not Christian; instead of hope and enterprise, there are apathy and inertness, and instead of growth, there is a slow but certain decay. In the Mahometan states, society is turned backwards, and retracing its steps; villages are brought under the plough, and the field that was once cultivated is abandoned to the wandering herdsmen, and the tent is pitched beside the broken pillars of the palace. Of philosophers there are only to be found the tombs, and whatever learning the Moslems had, is retained, not in schools, but in libraries. It is Christian States alone that suspend the fate of the Mahomedan kingdoms, and the Turks subsist but at the mercy of those whom they have so often conquered. The timid policy of Austria communicates her own inertness to the policy of other nations; and, while she crushes liberty in the west, supports despotism in the east; but no obstacle can long resist which is ever worn away by the current, and brief must the duration of those powers be, which oppose themselves to the stream of events, and rest only on foundations which are fast mouldering into dust. Weak are the allies of that government which places its reliance in ignorance and inactivity, to oppose the changes of opinion and desire of improvement in men's

minds already half emancipated, and who feel their fetters worn off and falling away.

ENGLAND THE CENTRE OF ACTION.

IX. England is the fountain from which the waters of the sanctuary are beginning to flow, and on every side to direct their purifying streams. It has advanced before all the rest in all the advantages of modern times, and its influence is felt by all other nations, as having trodden before them that career of prosperity in which they wish to follow, and to imitate her as the example of whatever is happy and glorious, exhibiting, in modern times, the perfection which Greece attained in the ancient—uniting success in arms and letters, and possessing a government adapted to the spirit of a people ever rising with reverses, and deriving new strength from the trials to which they have been exposed. England is the precursor in all the improvements which are peculiar to the times we live in;—strong in all the influences which give a healthful action to modern society—upborne by those impulses in the highest degree which are hastening the development of modern civilization in all the varieties of improvement, and which mark an advanced period of the history of man. Liberty, which gives health and strength to all other pre-eminences, is here on a more solid footing—established by time, interwoven with all our usages, and all our opinions, and forming the most precious part of our inheritance; while, in other countries, where it partially

exists, it is still debateable—a source of contest and distrust, supported by one party, but undermined by another. Here, the government and the subject alike have a vested interest in freedom, and would equally vindicate the substance of it, though they might dispute the limits.

The universal diffusion of elementary education, a fresh and nearly-allied source of prosperity, though till lately it has been much neglected in the south, has yet been pursued to an extent in the north of Britain which no country has ever yet surpassed; and, from the attention which is now given to education through every part of the island, we may trust that its knowledge will be equal to its liberty, and that both will perpetuate each other to the end of time; while, in the press, another great instrument of improvement, England possesses a moral power unknown to the ancient world, and superior, if its employment were equal to its energy, to the sum of all their advantages taken together. Voluntary association, as a promoting influence of moral improvement, belongs peculiarly to England, which owes so much to the efforts of individuals, and by means of which private men, by their union and concert, may become public benefactors, may execute the works which elsewhere would demand the force of kings, can excite and concentrate the spirit of communities, and make the ends of the earth better and happier by their exertions. Besides, Britain possesses wealth which all its innumerable existing outlets cannot sufficiently diffuse; which,

after accomplishing whatever can be desired, still leaves an excess of activity and superfluity behind it, which spends itself in romantic enterprises and chimerical pursuits, and is at the service of the most distant nations, and the most hopeless adventures. Along with this wealth, there is a benevolence which embraces every claim of humanity, adapts itself to the succour of every form of misery, and anticipates, by its over-careful aid, even uncertain misfortunes. Add to this, that the British are comparatively, and popularly speaking, a highly religious and thoughtful nation, whose standard works have imbued the language with a loftier morality, and a more frequent regard to the sanctions of duty, and the eternal consequences of men's actions and the rewards and punishments of a future and unending life, than is found in the literature of most, perhaps of any other nation. These are the elements of which are composed the worth of individual and the greatness of national character, and which give ardour and effect to purposes which contemplate remote good, and the interests of humanity in general. These dispose to great and generous attempts; and the commerce of Britain, which connects her with the remotest ends of the earth, and draws her into close and repeated intercourse with every nation, makes these attempts practicable, and carries them into easy execution; while her colonies bring her into near neighbourhood with the other quarters of the world, reflect an image of her greatness, and re-produce her ge-

nerous designs beneath the sun of the tropic, or in another hemisphere.

IMPORTANCE OF SYSTEM.

X. The first requisite in benevolent operations, as in all other undertakings, is system ; a fixedness of design, and a steady adaptation of the means to the end. Opposite to that of system, is the pursuing of what are called openings, or the being caught with every change of circumstances, and drawn by every chance of success into new paths of pursuit, having no connection with each other, and leading to remote terminations. Every step gained in a system strengthens, every step gained without it weakens. The first object acquired leads to the possession of the second, and that to the attainment of the third, if all the objects to be attained are originally chosen with reference to the accomplishment of a plan. Every new object, where there is no system, divides the already scattered forces, and success, if pursued, might dissipate them entirely, and leave but the vain pleasure of having a number of defenceless stations, each calling for assistance, and all calling in vain, while the society only retained the empty boast of an extended line of operations, and of being equally helpless and inefficient in every quarter of the globe. On a system, each part strengthens the other ; the line of communication is kept up entire ; as each point is gained the whole advances ; they are all in movement towards

the same position, and they rest upon the same centre of support.

ECONOMY.

XI. Economy is the second requisite of success, which is not only productive of power but of wisdom. Riches, without it, are the art and means of purchasing speedy disappointment ; they appear to shorten the road to success, yet fail in leading to its attainment. But economy implies continual comparison and design, is intently employed in seeking the simplest and most efficacious instruments, avoids difficulties by forethought, and overcomes obstacles less by force than by intelligence, attacks only points that are vulnerable, and reserves itself for a necessary and decisive crisis, while wealth, with bandaged eyes, grasps at all objects indiscriminately, and attempts, by squandering itself away, to create those instruments which it might soon find by the assistance of thought and time. Economy, however, is a word of no pleasant sound to many benevolent persons. "That the world itself is not to be compared with the saving of one immortal soul," is an observation, of which the truth is more obvious than the application which they make of it. With them the infinite and supernatural character of the subjects sets aside the maxims of wordly prudence ; and, if money be spent in promoting the good cause, it matters not in what manner. Those, on the other hand, who wish to avoid the extreme of profuseness, mistake the coun-

terfeit for the reality, parsimony for economy, and delight in those labourers who may be had gratis, not reflecting, that the labour which costs nothing is generally worth nothing, and that, where agents combine two employments, they are bound to devote their chief time and talents to the one for which they are paid. But economy is quite consistent with a liberal expenditure, and indeed cannot subsist without it. It is by preferring quality to quantity, efficiency to numbers, a few capable agents at a higher salary, to a greater number of indifferent ones at a lower, that work is done more rapidly and more perfectly, and at a smaller cost. Economy aids in a double degree ; it not only makes the money received of more value, but it opens other sources of revenue, and is the chief recommendation of a voluntary society ; for all must be anxious to contribute in preference to those stewards who turn five talents into ten, and who give additional worth to every sum with which they are intrusted, by stamping it with the value of their thought and carefulness. A society that is more anxious to spend well than to spend much, would not be reduced to continual supplications and cries of distress, or to plead, as their chief claim upon the bounty of the public, how greatly they were in debt ; their own works should speak for them. If a plan were to be thought of for drying up the springs of public liberality, a better method could not be devised than to be ever clamorous for further donations, and to be forgetful and silent respecting those already re

ceived. On the other hand, to judge no one as to the extent of a free gift, but to receive whatever is given, without attempting to measure the abilities of the donor, or to put a farther tax upon his good will, and to show gratitude for the past, unmixed with expectation for the future, is the certain way to increase the liberality of contributors, by leaving that pleasure, which providence has attached to giving, unalloyed with the fear that every compliance will only excite new and larger demands.

SUPERINTENDENCE.

XII. One great source of economy would arise from sending superintendants into foreign countries instead of active labourers. As this would diminish the numbers that are to be sent out, so it would afford a greater selection, and would prevent the mistake of receiving all who offer themselves, and of transporting, at considerable expense, those to different countries, who, afterwards prove hindrances instead of aids. Men of ascertained talents and piety would alone be chosen, instead of a miscellaneous conscription, or a number of raw volunteers; and, as these men would be employed in the sphere most suited to foreigners, in a strange country, free from all labours that were not strictly necessary, there would be a saving of time, of expenditure, and of exertion; and, what is of still more consequence, a saving of life, of acquirements, and of experience; while both the conductors of, and the contributors to missions, admitting the principle,

that the seed-time must precede the harvest, would, in the first instance, look for, and expect a progress of preparation, rather than the results of success, and would not be disappointed at not seeing the building ascending, before the foundation was laid. The grand object of every society must be to train up native preachers ; and they who best accomplish this have best discharged the work assigned to them. Here men of large information, and of noble and disinterested benevolence, would find a wide field on which to operate, both at home and abroad ; they would become the temporal benefactors as well as the spiritual enlighteners of the country to which they had expatriated themselves ; introducing, as preparatory to the great changes in morals, and in religion, a change in the arts of life, and in the attainments of knowledge ; promoting those improvements which were obvious to the senses, as a pledge of those benefits which were more remote and less visible ; and ranking with the first civilizers of nations in the variety of benefits which they conferred. At home all would be able to appreciate some part of their labours—the religious, their care of souls, the merely benevolent, their care of the body ; and all might understand the excellency of a system which provided for every want of humanity, and increased the comforts of this life while it brightened the prospects of another. Another office which the superintendants would have to fulfil, would be furnishing reports, the reverse of those now furnished, to the public ; which

are the models of whatever is to be avoided,—long, indistinct, and where the reader is bewildered and disappointed when in search of any tangible or useful information. It is by vivid pictures of a distant country that the interest in it alone can be kept up, and that all its wants are brought before the eye and impressed upon the imagination ; for the abstract belief of misery will afford but a cold conviction and sluggish co-operation ; and it is upon the writer's powers of feeling, and expressing deeply all that he feels, that the aid furnished from a distance must depend. It is not only, however, vivid description, but a variety of important 'facts, that his situation abroad would supply a writer of talents with. His attention would be alive to every possible opening, by which light could break into the native mind—their opinions, their prejudices, their literature, in all its range, and their civil condition, through every variety of station, would be presented and surveyed, in order that no access might remain unoccupied, by which truth might gain an entrance, and no instrument lie disused, by which the inert mass of ignorance, and inveterate prejudice might be roused, but that every kindly feeling might be cherished into esteem, and every dawn of intelligence might increase into perfect knowledge. This, then, is the double task required—to present an image ever-varied, and ever-vivid, of foreign countries to England, and again, to give life and form to the knowledge of England in other lands. This is the exchange of communication by which

knowledge and religion would make their mutual way through countries long buried in superstition and ignorance, and would secure to each other success and perpetuity.

NATIVE AGENCY.

XIII. The employment of native agents under the superintendence of Europeans more than makes up for the decrease of the number of foreign labourers ; and while it saves more than could have been believed in point of expenditure, it increases the efficiency of the mission in perhaps a still higher degree, provided that the education of the natives approach the acquirements of the European agents whose place they supply. The very rearing of native agents is preparatory of native hearers ; the progress of education is ever spreading a wider circle of information, prejudices are losing their hold, and a greater capacity is acquired of understanding what is heard. On every side the work is in commencement ; the language is moulded to new thoughts, the hearers are prepared for new instructions, and the teachers have an opening which is ever widening as their power of filling it enlarges. When the new opinions have taken root in the soil, and have within them the principle of growth, their increase is not limited to foreign additions, but expands with native strength, and awaits but the lapse of years, and the changes which education and increasing conviction are producing, to obtain a complete victory over those creeds which maintain less

and less dominion over the mind. Even those who have failed to pursue the object for which they were educated, and who, though educated, may still remain, in some degree, attached to the superstitious belief of their ancestors, serve the ultimate purpose of the mission, though in a different way. They are obliged to modify the errors, and to introduce a diversity and disputes into the creed which they still hold by, and thus new errors are produced, which, seeking to occupy the ground which the old are losing, add to the confusion and dismay of the ancient worship, and spread new rents through the ruin they attempt to repair. Others, who are indifferent to the religion, may be zealously attached to the science of Europe, and from another and unsuspected quarter begin, without being conscious of it, to produce a revolution in the minds of their countrymen; and thus, furnishing new arms by which error may be dislodged from its strong-holds, may prepare a way for religious truth to accompany science when least expected or desired. When once the impulse is begun, and nations that have long been stationary again advance in the path of civilization, numbers of causes will contribute to accelerate their course; a degree of information will spread through every rank and gradation of society, and the appetite for knowledge will increase with each accession it receives. Thus every discovery in Europe is connected with the ultimate enlightening of the earth at large, and every truth established, is one added to the host of assailants

which will break down the barriers that have been hitherto opposed to human improvement and happiness.

EDUCATION.

XIV. But to furnish native agents a system of education is the next requisite, and which should be the very first object in every missionary undertaking. Upon the extent on which it is planned, and upon the success with which it is carried on, the failure or accomplishment of the object, as a whole, necessarily depends; any success that is gained without it must be local, and partial, and brief, and uncertain, as well as limited; for education alone can provide for an increasing demand for future contingencies, and a perpetual supply. In education, both the elementary instruction which may cover the country in general, and the higher learning for those who are to be the teachers of others, either as schoolmasters or preachers, should be planned on such a model as will admit of continually enlarging its extent and improving its method; but as the maintaining directly the elementary education of a whole country would be an expense too burdensome to undertake, it is only indirectly that it can be attempted, by educating schoolmasters who may gradually spread over whole nations the same method of teaching in which they themselves have been taught. It is therefore evident, that normal schools and colleges are the two sorts of institutions which are necessary instruments

for evangelizing a country; the first to provide schoolmasters, and the second to provide preachers, —who ought to be a selection from those educated merely as teachers, set apart on account of their talents and piety. The normal schools would thus serve as a nursery for colleges, and the education received at the first would shorten and facilitate the instruction acquired at the latter; and as the students of both would be eminent for their good conduct and capacity, and selected upon these accounts from the schools already existing in the country, the care and expenditure bestowed upon them would, like seed committed to a chosen soil, bring forth some an hundred, some sixty, some thirty-fold. Nor, as was stated before, would the failure of many of them as religious converts, be a hindrance to their usefulness to others; they would do the work of the mission in a different capacity; and, while a sufficiency might be counted upon to be engaged directly in preaching the gospel, numbers of others unsolicited, and unsalaried, and often unconsciously, would be undermining the fabric of superstition, and diffusing that good-will, and good opinion, that must ever be felt towards early instructors, if there be no misconduct on their part. A new generation would spring up, even when there was no outward change, with minds in which the fables of their country inspired less reverence; whom their idols ceased to overawe, and who began to question the rites of their country, and to be alive to the devices of their priesthood, till the hold

which superstition had upon them was altogether relaxed, and they threw aside their idolatrous ceremonies with general consent, as a worn-out and useless incumbrance. While the schools would be increasing in power by every new improvement that they received in Europe, and education would become more perfect, and more rapid, the languages, being made the vehicles of sound information, would ever be affording instruction of a higher order, the demand for learning would increase the attainments of the higher, and descend, at the same time, to the lower classes of the community; the difficulties which now exist would be counteracted, and the obstacles would be worn away in the opposition which they gave.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

XV. Though a universal language may be an impracticable scheme, when founded upon abstract principles, and altogether fictitious in its construction, yet there is some probability that one language may become universal, as the learned medium by which the thinkers of all nations may obtain possession of every new discovery, and transfer them into their own tongues. The number of languages is greater in a given space, in proportion as the condition of society approaches the savage state, and diminishes as mankind advance in civilization.— Each tribe of savages form a jargon for themselves; the poorer the language the more easily it is altered, the more readily its character is effaced,

and its original materials concealed under new additions ; but as communities increase with civilization, so languages extend with communities ; and as conquest gives them extent, so writing gives them permanence and fixity. Religion has added to that permanence, by conferring upon sacred writings a perpetuity of interest, and making them, in some degree, the standard of all classes, of all conditions, and of all ages. This permanence and extent of language is consolidated by an established literature and an established dominion ; and the diversity of dialects disappears with the facility of communication, and a community of interests and intercourse.

But empire is ever proceeding on a larger scale ; the community of nations embraces a wider circle ; and a few languages, favoured by conquest, commerce, and religion, are spreading themselves over the greatest portion of the earth, so that the chances are increased that one of them should serve as the medium of communication with all the rest, and act as the interpreter between all the nations of the world. It may be seen, from the extent to which even a dead language is understood, and how far it has served as the vehicle of thought, what influence, and what facilities, a living language might possess, if otherwise equally favoured by circumstances, in diffusing truth, and in opening an intercourse throughout the family of man. A dead language has two great disadvantages ; it has lost the principle of growth and increase ; the thoughts expressed

in it are but the echoes of former thoughts, conceived at a distant period of time ; but the world goes on, its affairs change their face, and whatever is stationary must end in being retrograde. Again, a dead language has not the same easiness of being acquired that a living one possesses, which can be caught in every tone and accent from the lips of a speaker, and be understood by the accompanying comment of every look, gesture, and present circumstance. The customs with which a dead language is interwoven are obsolete, and it refers to a different period of sentiments, and to another age of the mind ; while a living language, if it be the language of a commercial people, may have those who speak it as their native tongue in every part of the globe ; it may enter into the daily business of life ; its institutions, which have given it its cast and character, may be the models which all study and wish to imitate ; and it may contain in its literature whatever affects the higher interests of humanity—rich in its own native stores, and yet multifarious in its foreign acquisitions, which it has collected from every part and region under heaven. The English language possesses many of these advantages, and, from the situation of England, it might easily acquire the rest. By its colonies it might cover one-fifth of the globe, and by its commerce it spreads over the whole ; its inhabitants are dispersed by the variety of their pursuits, and its institutions excite and deserve the regard of all other nations.

A language, to become universal, requires to be a living language ; the continual movement and progress of society, as was before observed, places a wide difference, in the course of years, between the nations of antiquity and of later times ; manners change, thoughts move in a different circle, governments depend upon other principles, and the frame-work of society has been taken down and remodelled ; the dead languages cannot serve as the receptacles and vehicles of new information, and they remain fixed and limited, with the acquirements of men of other days, who are gradually diminishing in their influence, as we recede from them, in the lapse of generations and centuries.— It is thus that the Latin language has been decreasing in importance by modern discoveries, and becomes less and less the medium of scientific intercourse, or useful information. The Arabic language, which spread with the conquest of the Arabs over so wide and extensive a territory, to the rising and setting of the sun, fell from its high supremacy, with the fall of the Caliphs, and declines with the decline of the Mahometan religion ; conveying no new information, and not spoken in its ancient purity, but become in some measure a dead language, though one of the most diffused, it offers no competition with other languages, which are rising in their fortunes and extending their influence. The Chinese language, if considered as a written and not as a spoken language, embraces a still larger population, and is certainly not upon the decline.

but rather increasing, as the Chinese empire spreads its authority more widely over the middle regions of Asia, and as Chinese colonies are scattered more extensively over the Islands of the southern ocean ; but then, it is a language adapted only to a rude period, complicated and unwieldy in the structure of its symbols, and in truth not properly one language, but the connection of a number of barbarous and cognate dialects, extremely imperfect when spoken, and only united and having their deficiencies supplied by all of them being expressed in the same complicated system of written characters. It is apparent, that when the imperfect knowledge of the Chinese yields to the science of Europe, the language in which it is conveyed will receive a shock, and must be greatly modified, to be suitable to higher advances, and a greater variety of information. Thus the two most extensive languages in Asia, which can be considered as living tongues—for the Sanscrit, notwithstanding its relation to the dialects spoken in India, and its cultivation by the Bramins, must be considered as having long been a dead language—are linked to a rude period of civilization, and are likely to be curtailed rather than advanced, in their sphere of influence, by the introduction of European improvements, and by a new era of progressive knowledge in Asia. The European languages alone as connected with the progress of European genius and discovery, and the universal diffusion of modern science, have a prospect of being universally diffused, and it only remains to examine

which of these languages possesses the greatest advantages, for being the medium by which knowledge can be most rapidly and easily conveyed, which may be the universal receptacle of past information, and the speediest vehicle of new discovery. The French language, at one time, had the most brilliant hopes of being spoken as the inter-national tongue of Europe. But as Montaigne observed, its perpetuity, and its success, depended upon two circumstances—the celebrity of its writers, and the fortunes of its arms. It is singular that, while France, fruitful in literature, was possessed of two springs of originality—the romances of the north, and the songs of the south, each rising at the same time, each different, and each alike original, a profuseness of novelty which no other nation can boast of, yet that both these sources should fail, or rather be entirely neglected, and that a new literature should be formed upon the imitation of the classic models. While the classic writers obtained an exclusive admiration, the French writers, as those who most strictly adhered to the classic rules of art, obtained a full share of that admiration ; but now that original genius and nationality are sought in every literature, the French writers have proportionally declined ; and, as the arms of France have not only been unsuccessful, but other powers are rising up into new strength, the French have both absolutely and relatively declined in importance. Their literature, and their predominance, being both on the wane, their language

must gradually follow the fortunes of the powers which influenced its destiny, and will never surpass, and must gradually recede from the limits which it formerly reached. The German literature has sprung up since, and has gradually been dislodging the French from the north of Europe, being the very reverse of modern French literature, both in its excellencies and defects—full of originality, but formed upon no system, and scarcely even a plan, unless the caprice of each writer, or his shadowy theory, may be dignified with the name of a system; and while the French language abounds in master-pieces, formed exactly according to the rules of perfect art, and which want nothing but life and movement, the German literature abounds in fragments and essays, each with a peculiar flavour of the soil, but which seem to have wanted a warmer sun to have ripened them to maturity. Again, the Germans have not that predominance in politics, or that established, or unquestioned reputation in literature, nor has their country that favourable position which could give weight and extent to their language over the world at large. Their influence is confined to the north of Europe. But it vanishes in the other divisions of the globe; and even in the north of Europe, the growth of the empire and literature of Russia, though at first favourable to Germany, will gradually operate to its disadvantage, and may even overwhelm its rising energies by the pressure of its immediate neighbourhood. If width of empire alone could confer

a greater extent upon language, the Russian tongue might become the most general medium of intercourse, and undoubtedly it will be prevalent far and wide, both in Europe and Asia ; but the ground it must gain is so great, before it can reach the level of present improvement, and the condition of its society so unpropitious, and its want of many advantages which other tongues possess so great a counterpoise, that even it has not much chance of becoming the language most generally diffused, or of spreading far beyond the range of the Russian cannon. The Spanish language, coupled with the Portuguese, which may be considered as a sister dialect, has great advantages in its favour. The influence of either may not be great in their parent seats, in Europe, but, connected as they are with Asia and Africa, and spread over the richest parts of the new world, they are daily growing in importance, and have largely the promise of the future. Nearly allied to the Latin, from which they are descended, and to which they have ready access for new riches, and connected through it with the other languages spoken in the south of Europe, they have advantages for improvement, and for growth, and for facility of being understood, not possessed by the Russian. Their history, and their early poetry, is the most romantic, and connected with those noble and unexpected achievements which opened new worlds to the conquerors of the Moors. The sun never sets upon their territories, or those of their descendants. The countries they

have colonized present every advantage for an unlimited prosperity. By the continual growth of their territorial greatness, their language must become the native tongue of the greater part of America ; it will be spoken on many parts of the African continent, it has left traces of itself in India, and will spread over the islands from Manilla. It has thus a very great foundation for future prevalence, though there are several circumstances connected with it in which another language has greatly the advantage over it. The Spanish and Portuguese are sufficiently dissimilar to prevent what may be considered the Peninsular language from becoming the medium of easy intercourse between these nations themselves or their descendants. The Spanish language, which is the most diffused, is, moreover, divided against itself, not only at home, where the Castilian has never completely supplanted the Provençal in the kingdom of Arragon, but also abroad, where it has become mixed with the native languages of the country, owing to the numbers of the native Indians who remained in Peru, and elsewhere, after the conquest of the Spanish in America ; and though it is probable that the Spanish will throw off, in a great measure, these admixtures, yet the process of purifying from foreign additions may delay the establishment of Spanish literature, and the advancement of the language in various parts of the new world. Again, the Spaniards, being so greatly in the rear of the other European States, is also a great draw-

back to their language taking the lead. Their literature has yet to be formed ; they must be learners before they can be teachers ; and it is more likely at present that they should have recourse to another literature and language for instruction, than that their own should be generally studied. The English language alone remains to be considered, and it possesses more advantages than any other for becoming the great and scientific language of the world. Englishmen, and the descendants of Englishmen, will become the most diffused of any branch of the family of man, scarcely excepting the Jews. It is not merely one quarter of the world in which they are spreading themselves ; they are colonizing, at one and the same moment, America, Africa, and Asia, while in Europe their population augments with a rapidity that renders emigration every year more desirable, and to greater numbers. Every class, and every profession is over-stocked ; and, from the facility of education, and the openings, which are presented to every rank of society, to press into the one above it ; in information and enterprise, they are more and more decidedly taking the lead among the European nations. From narrowness of territory, they are propelled with greater force to foreign adventures, and from their superiority in the arts, they are received with greater readiness by foreign states ; and their capital, which increases more rapidly than any field of exertion which can be opened to it, drives their commerce, and their commercial agents,

to force new entrances, to form new establishments, and to spread themselves as widely and remotely as possible. The sea is already covered with their ships ; the land must in time be covered with their counting-houses, and English mechanics, artists, and professional men, will find their way in the train of the merchants, and escape from a country teeming with candidates for every situation. The power, and the resources of Britain, pent up at home, will spread themselves as wide as the winds and waves can carry them, and will cause the branches of English population and literature to spread over every soil. Every country will be prepared for the reception of English as the standard of literature, and the medium by which it may be transmitted or promoted, when they feel the superiority of the English brought home to them in all the productions of life, and in the value which their industry confers upon every species of manufacture ; but above all, England has shot ahead of all other nations, and is more rapidly carried along by the current of events and the influence of the times, and has anticipated those changes and ameliorations, of which other nations begin to feel the necessity, and those improvements in which they all acknowledge her to be their precursor and model ; this priority of progress, and the belonging, as it were, to a more advanced age, will contribute to the eagerness with which all nations will be brought to the study of English, as the key to modern discoveries, and the storehouse of those truths which are

beneficial to mankind. The federal republic, though its portion of the American Continent is not to be compared with that which is possessed by the peninsular nations, and is even inferior, in several respects, to the acquisitions of the Portuguese, taken singly, yet seems destined to exert the greatest influence over the rest, from its population being more European, with an access to all the riches of English literature, and with a possession of institutions highly adapted to the situation of the new world, accordant to the spirit of the times, and approved by the dictates of philosophy. It is upon these institutions that the other governments of America will model themselves, and it is in the career of the United States, in its liberality and illumination, that they will be anxious to follow. The United States have anticipated the rest in the advancement, not only of their political institutions, but of their political strength, and the distance they have gained they are not likely, in any measure, to lose, but rather to increase. The English literature is their own ; without exertion on their part they are possessed of information the most advanced, and in its best form ; and of all the new nations they will be the soonest enabled to enter themselves upon new discoveries, to join their own genius to that of their kindred beyond the Atlantic, and to increase the influence of that language which is common to them both.

TRANSLATIONS.

XVI. One great advantage which any language should possess, in order to become the general medium, is, the having transferred to it, in some measure, by translations, the peculiar riches of other languages, and thus becoming a common receptacle for all the stores of intellect; by means of which the readers of each nation might, to a certain degree, gain access to the wealth of every other nation, although they had only the opportunity of adding one foreign language to their own. In every translation, doubtless, there must be a great waste of the beauty of the original; for the very same charms can scarcely be transferred, and are rather represented by equivalents than correctly imaged in a tongue that is foreign to them. Still the general form may be preserved though minuter beauties disappear, and a collection of the translated works of all countries and times may amply compensate, by its vastness and variety, for any deficiency that is unavoidable in the rendering of each. English is eminently fitted to be the medium of translation for the literature of the old and of the new world, of the east and of the west. From its Gothic origin it has a facility of appropriating to itself the language of the Gothic tribes, and in some measure, of all the northern nations, to which the Gothic race have given a portion of their own colouring and character. By the Norman mixture, it forms a junction between the pure Gothic race and the na-

tions who participate in the Roman descent and language ; and through them, and the general acquaintance with classical learning long prevalent in England, the language is far from averse to an antique form of words, and beauty of proportion and imagery. The religious reading of the British, especially at the commencement of its literature, took a deep impression from the Oriental cast of thought of the Bible, and the language, in one of its forms, combines, without difficulty, or an appearance of strangeness, with the gorgeous metaphors of the east, their fantastic imagery and violent mode of thought and expression. Free and unlimited, from the variety of its origin, it presents no obstacles, as a literature which has taken one single rigid cast must always do, to foreign accessions, but easily naturalizes the thoughts of men of every climate, and every age, and extends its sympathy as deep as humanity itself. In this way, and to attain the object proposed, missions may be extremely useful, in enriching the literature of their native land, while at the same time, they are gaining the most useful knowledge and power to themselves, by rendering into English the writings of the country in which they are stationed ; and might thus have a peculiar claim upon those who are, unfortunately, indifferent to religion itself, but who, at least, would aid them in augmenting the literary riches of their own country, and in extending its influence by extending its language and adding to its possessions. It would be a work of national importance to encour-

age a systematic, and continual translation into English, of the standard works of all foreign countries, that England might not only be the emporium of trade, and the mart for all the natural productions of the world, but the reservoir which received all the streams of science, and from which they could be drawn forth at pleasure, and sent to fertilize every corner of the globe.

COLONIES.

XVII. England has another mode of spreading religion with her language through every country and clime. Her colonies, as we have already said, occupy large portions of Africa, and of Asia, as well as of America; her population has an increasing tendency to emigrate, and every waste and thinly-peopled spot upon the globe seems to be her natural inheritance. The extreme point of Africa is about to receive her laws and her language, and the vessels of New South Wales already traverse that great ocean which will one day be covered with their sails. The solitude of the southern ocean, as well as the solitude of the American wilderness, will be broken with their settlements, and covered with the monuments of their arts. But it is not merely to desolate or thinly-peopled regions that the emigration of the English will be confined; for, unless the government is alike ignorant and neglectful of the interests of the nation, the most fertile and populous country of the east will be colonized by English, and their agricultural skill

will be transferred to the plains of India, as well as their commerce to its shores. A new and enlightened addition to the population of India will avail itself of the bounty of nature, and restore its pre-eminence to Hindostan in the cultivation of science. The whole east would thus be made to feel the moral supremacy of England, and the chains which have so long rivetted those fertile empires would be broken for ever. We have elsewhere observed, that there were two methods of colonizing—the Grecian and the Roman; the first, the most usually practised, the last, the most advantageous. The Grecian colonies on the shores of Italy, extirpating the few aborigines, and having nothing to dread from the presence of foreign and hostile force, shook off the yoke of their parent cities, and became the rivals instead of the dependents of the mother country. But the Roman colonies, placed in the midst of the vanquished, and employed as a perpetual garrison, kept the chain of subjection entire, while the natives and the foreigners, mutually dreading and distrusting each other, were both prevented from entertaining any projects against the paramount influence of the conquering city. A third method of colonizing, which has rarely been acted upon as yet, might be termed the Egyptian, or the Phenician, since an example is found of its happy influence in the early emigration which introduced into Greece the knowledge and arts of Egypt and of Sidon. In this mode of colonizing, the emigrants, being too few to remain distinct

from the foreigners among whom they settled, speedily incorporated themselves with the native population, and only evidenced their separate original by the higher civilization which they communicated, and the filial veneration which they inspired, among the tribes they had benefited, for the countries from which they came. Notwithstanding the disadvantages to which each of these methods of colonizing is liable, and the objections which might easily be made to them, they are all, when properly conducted, sources of national greatness, and capable of adding to the wealth or to the strength of the country which wisely employed them. To an empire which seeks only to add to the number of its subjects, colonies formed upon the Grecian model are not adapted, and the remark of Harrington, in this point of view, is ever applicable, that "they are babes that cannot live without sucking the breasts of their mother cities, but such as I mistake, if, when they become of age, they do not wean themselves; which causes me to wonder at Princes that delight to be exhausted in that way!" To a government, however, that would extend its commerce, and multiply its allies and its resources, on the broad foundation of *mutual* advantage, colonies afford the outlets of a growing prosperity, and open an ever-widening circle of enterprise and acquisition. It is the jealousy of the mother country which renders colonies a burden at their commencement, and which, as soon as they gain strength, converts them into enemies. But a libe-

ral policy, which, leaving them to the management of their own affairs, would free the parent state from much useless expenditure, would also secure their friendship, and, prolonging the filial affection which colonies entertain for their mother country, would attach them to its interest, by feelings of veneration for their original seats, which are deeply impressed on the minds of nations, and which many injuries cannot efface. Even after the unfortunate war with the American colonies, the Americans are more ready to forgive what they have suffered, than the British to forget what they have lost.

The advantage of colonizing India is much less doubtful than that of peopling a deserted tract of country. There is no waste of expenditure at first, nor that difficulty of taking root in the soil which every new settlement experiences, while the colonists would ever be reminded of their common descent and common interest with the British, by the men of other tongues and of strange aspects that surrounded them. The English can have no stable footing in India without colonization. There needs no hostile sword to cut them off from the face of the land ; upon the present system, a few years will obliterate the whites, unless renewed by fresh importations. There can be no danger from white settlements in Hindostan ; one hundred millions of Mahometans and Hindoos will ever be a sufficient guarantee for the loyalty of any number of British who could possibly be transported to so great a distance. The advantages would be immense, not

only to England, but to Hindostan, in an enlightened and energetic population, turning to profit the resources of the richest country of the east, and the renown would be endless, of having established over India models of the policy of Rome, and of the freedom and knowledge of Britain. It is to be hoped that the narrow-spirited monopoly of a trading company will not be always suffered to interfere with the just views of government, nor the miscalculating selfishness of individuals to mar the fairest prospects of improvement that ever opened upon the extremities of Asia. Small colonies upon the third, or the Phenician model, might easily be spread through the islands of the Pacific, and through the south of Africa, introducing among them the arts and religion of Britain, and everywhere taking advantage of the first stirrings of thought in barbarous tribes, to give their minds the right direction, and to infuse into them, at the moment of their formation into civilized states, the spirit of English literature and liberty. Throughout the South American republics, the influence of the English race will be felt in a high degree, partly from the example of North America—the forerunner in the same career of prosperity; and in no small degree, from the number of English residents, who will flock to these newly-opened countries, and who, from the higher advances in knowledge, and elder civilization, will give, in some measure, a new tone to their writings, their education, and their manners.

CONCLUSION.

XVIII. The means which England has at her disposal for spreading Christianity and science over the world are ample, and their application would be advantageous, not only to her spiritual prosperity, but to her temporal condition. Cromwell, who of all the rulers of this country best understood its true interests, and who, when his private advantage did not interfere, most steadily pursued them, had a clear view, (as Elizabeth also had before him, who might be ranked next to him in the capacity of governing,) of the eminence to which England might attain, by becoming the head of religion, and the chief promoter of piety throughout the earth; and his project in furtherance of this desirable end, as Burnet remarks, “was certainly a noble one. He resolved to set up a council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation *de propaganda fide* at Rome. He intended it should consist of seven counsellors and four secretaries for different provinces. These were the first, France, Switzerland, and the Vallies; the Palatinate and the other Calvinists were the second; Germany, the North, and Turkey, were the third; and the East and West Indies were the fourth.—These secretaries were to have five hundred pounds salary a-piece, and to keep a correspondence everywhere, to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. They were to have

a fund of ten thousand pounds a-year at their disposal for ordinary emergencies, but to be further supplied as occasion should require it." Yet what individuals have in their power at present is far superior to what Cromwell had at his disposal. Instead of ten or twenty thousand a-year, upwards of three hundred thousand is annually contributed for the promotion of religion at home and abroad.—The power of voluntary association, which combines the efforts of all who are favourable to the great cause, is mightier in its ultimate results than any power which a single monarch could put forth, and the agents who might now be obtained are better qualified for the work, and might proceed upon more enlarged principles. The only want at present is the want of will, the want of a resolution of making efforts proportioned to the end to be obtained ; and the great mistake is the aiming at the end without sufficiently adapting the means which are requisite for its attainment, and the not undergoing the preparatory processes which are necessary to insure success. "*Ne soyons pas avarés de tems ;*" the maxim which Necker applied to civil revolutions, is equally true in moral changes. What is of long growth is also of slow decay, and the inveterate evils of many ages cannot be eradicated "within the hour-glass of one man's life." (K.)

But though it may seem long to those whose bodies must moulder in the grave before it arrives, the time is brief when compared with the past duration of the world, until the era shall commence,

when the vail shall be rent, which is spread over the face of all people. According to the sure word of prophecy, allowing for the variety of interpretation, before the oak which was planted yesterday shall have reached its full maturity, the whole earth shall have become the garden of the Lord. The fulness of the gentiles, in every sense, is at hand.—The earth will soon be full of people, and full of knowledge; the desert is beginning to bloom, and the darkness to disperse, and the minds of men are ripening for, and expectant of, the greatest change which as yet has passed over the earth. Numbers are ready to join in the sublime supplications of Milton.

“Come, therefore, O thou that hast the seven stars in thy right hand, appoint thy chosen priests according to their orders and courses of old to minister before thee, and duly to dress and pour out the consecrated oil into thy holy and ever-burning lamps. Thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the earth to this effect, and stirred up their vows as the sound of many waters about thy throne. Every one can say, that now certainly thou hast visited this land, and has not forgotten the utmost corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that Thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the heavens, and hadst left to do marvellously among the sons of these last ages. O perfect and accomplish Thy glorious acts; for men may leave their work unfinished, but Thou art a God, Thy nature is perfec-

tion." "The times and seasons pass along under Thy feet, to go and come at Thy bidding ; and as Thou didst dignify our fathers' days with many revelations, above all their foregoing ages since Thou tookest the flesh, so Thou canst vouchsafe to us, though unworthy, as large a portion of thy spirit as Thou plearest : for who shall prejudice Thy all-governing will ? Seeing the power of Thy grace is not passed away with the primitive times as fond and faithless men imagine, but Thy kingdom is now at hand, and Thou standing at the door. Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth ; put on the visible robes of Thy imperial majesty, take up that unlimited sceptre which Thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed Thee ; for now the voice of thy bride calls Thee. and all creatures sigh to be renewed."

ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIETY.

PART FIFTH.

TENDENCY OF THE AGE.

VOLUNTARY AND INVOLUNTARY CHANGES.

I. THE changes which take place in the world are of two kinds—those which are produced by the voluntary efforts of individuals, and those which are occasioned by alterations of circumstances and new combinations of events. The first cannot be counted upon with the same certainty as the latter. The exertions of individuals are limited and desultory; their purposes change, or their power of doing good is interrupted; and life itself may fail before they can accomplish their designs or bequeath their intentions to successors. But the improvements which necessarily result from the development and progress of society itself, proceed in their course like the laws of nature which produce them, silent, but irresistible, without pause, and without

decay. They are also more the objects of certain calculation, and may be more safely reckoned upon in their distant results, the wider they spread, and the larger the field they embrace. It is a matter of great hazard to predict what any individual can or will accomplish; the hazard diminishes when a number of individuals are embarked in the same enterprise, and conjecture amounts to a degree of probability when a society, whose numbers are renewed by fresh accessions, are ever pursuing the same objects, with a vigour unabated by the lapse of years. The fairest hopes have been blighted when success depended on the energy and lives of individuals, and the want of zeal or misconduct their successors has suddenly terminated an impulse that was communicating a movement to society which those who witnessed its commencement did not expect would be speedily arrested. The zeal and activity of the primitive Christians ceased to animate those who entered upon the labours of their predecessors, and enjoyed the fruits of them, without wishing to share in the self-denial and the fatigue by which they had been obtained. The followers of the reformers turned the weapons, which Luther and Calvin had forged against the church of Rome, into missiles against each other, and employed the fervour and eloquence, which might have extended the reformation on every side, in controversies, trivial in themselves, but fatal in their consequences. The revival of religion in the present day may not continue long; it may be terminated

like those seasons of promise which have gone before, and have passed away without bringing on that universal spring which, sooner or later, will give a new verdure to the moral world. Such an interruption, though not at this moment in any degree probable, is still in the possibility of events; but, in addition to the arguments which might be brought against the recurrence of any delay in the hastening forward of that happy period, when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the face of the deep—still stronger conviction might be grounded on that preparation of the moral world, and from that disposition of all its parts, by which they are ready to concur in forwarding a great and renovating change throughout its whole extent. Society abounds in resources for its speedy amelioration, and in instruments sufficiently powerful to accomplish every beneficial design, however remote or immense, new forces are developed, and new facilities disclose themselves, and the general mind is beginning to stir itself with the first vague aspirations after some undefined and future good—as the surface of the ocean is roughened and agitated before it has encountered the storm which is yet brooding at a distance.

PHILOSOPHY OF CHARITY.

II. A new power arises from the improvement in benevolence; the charity of instinct is giving way to the charity of principle. It is well known that “wise antiquity” worshipped two different be-

ings under the name of love—the elder issuing, with golden wings, from the egg of night, immortal, immutable—the younger, esteemed the son of Flora and Zephyr, fickle as his paternal breezes, and transient as his mother's flowers. A mythologist might, in like manner, have assigned two different personifications to charity—describing the one as born of pity and occasion, the other as sprung from Eros and Sophia, or foresight—the one fair and frail as the daughters of men, the other with the severe and lasting beauty of the immortals—the one holding forth a single cup of water to the passing pilgrim, the other digging a well in the desert, which, once opened, will flow for ever. The first merely removes a want, the second implants a principle. The first dies with the event which gave birth to it, the second is endowed with seminal virtue, and reproduces and multiplies its likeness. The doctrines of Malthus, though at first they may have chilled the common-place benevolence of the public, by withdrawing it from those feigned objects of distress, by which it was habitually and instinctively excited, will ultimately increase to a great extent the resources of true charity. The passion for doing good will survive its misdirection, and a vast sum will be liberated from employments worse than useless—from creating that misery which it has a vain show of relieving; will be dedicated to the noblest purposes, and far from being dried up, will only be poured into another channel, and with an ampler stream.

POWER OF MORAL INSTRUMENTS.

III. Nor will proper objects be wanting for the expenditure of whatever sums are saved by a wiser economy of charity. On every side new powers are springing up available for the uses of humanity, and these powers are at the disposal of charity to multiply, to direct, and to improve. The press alone baffles all calculations of its consequences, and requires but a right direction of its efforts to produce a result of good of which no eye could see the limits, no thought could compute the sum. In Great Britain and America this influence has reached a height beyond the conjecture of former years, and writings increase in number and importance with a rapidity beyond example. The number of readers increases in proportion; the opinions of all classes are formed by books; and an authority may be exerted by means of the press over the general mind, which has had no precedent in the times that are past, nor will be thoroughly understood till it becomes manifested in some future and unexpected example. Education, even where it is opposed, is extending itself, and a revolution is begun in that power which of itself is able to cause a revolution in every thing else. All begin to read—all will in the end begin to think, and those laws and institutions which were intended for the use of the unthinking must give place to new ones. Voluntary associations are giving new strength to the frame of society, and infusing a new spirit into it.

and bringing those objects which once seemed placed beyond the reach of individuals into secure and every-day attainment. But improvements are not only perfected but everywhere extended. The Hindoos have now their newspapers, and the remotest barbarians their schools ; and the first symptoms are everywhere apparent of the change that is spreading through every climate, and which will at last be visible to the utmost verge of the habitable earth.

INCREASING IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIETY.

IV. An improvement is taking place in the mutual action of society upon itself ; the influence of the higher upon the lower is now met by a counter influence, and the progress which those of the lower extremity of the social scale are now making, will have an accelerating effect upon those immediately above them, and the speed of every class will be augmented from the fear of being overtaken. The extremes of society are done away. There are no longer hereditary bondsmen, deprived of all hope of ascending in the scale whatever might be their moral worth or industry ; and there are no hereditary classes, privileged to inactivity and folly, and exempted, by their high rank, from the loss of consideration by their loss of character ; but public opinion is brought to bear upon all ; and all, by heavy penalties, are made to feel themselves responsible. Thus Society has gained a doubly accelerating force ; the improvements that are adopted by

the higher classes are emulously caught, and rapidly transmitted to the lower, and the advancement of the latter urges a new progress upon the former, and those who have least in their power are still enabled to return in part the benefits they receive. The schools of arts instituted for the instruction of mechanics will ultimately have the effect of spreading and advancing the knowledge of natural philosophy among all ranks of the community. A knowledge of the elements of mechanical and chemical science, from the example held out by workmen in towns, will be judged essential to the ordinary course of education, and become prevalent in every method of instruction. The demand created by these schools for teachers will give encouragement to young men prosecuting philosophical studies, and afford them an opportunity of discovering whatever powers they may possess. That patronage and incitement which governments ought to hold forth in the aid of scientific knowledge will, in some measure, be supplied by the contributions which are raised by the operative classes ; and the openings which their instruction will afford to rising merit may compensate for the want of the fostering care which the rulers of this and other countries ought to have bestowed on the abstract research of truth.

IMPROVEMENT OF GOVERNMENTS.

V. Governments, as well as their subjects, begin to feel the force of that change which time is slowly

but inevitably producing. Before the French revolution, they showed the influence they felt by being gently carried along by the stream of opinion ; and since that time, by violently struggling against it. The twenty years which preceded the French revolution were distinguished by a greater reform of abuses than had taken place in the preceding century, till at last the monarchs of Europe became alarmed at the rapidity of the current which was so rapidly bearing them along. A wide-reaction has since taken place, and the violence and want of principle by which the changes in France were marked, have been accompanied, as is always the case, with want of permanence in those institutions that were designed to supplant the former ones ; still the old governments, though successful in their opposition, have found it prudent to give up many of their out-posts as untenable, and to concentrate the arbitrary exercise of their power within narrower limits. Overawed by the presence of an invisible but everywhere diffused enemy, they have suspended their ancient animosities, and have united in the only principle, in which they are ever likely to be permanently agreed, in the perpetual design of crushing the rising liberties of the world ; certainly, at the present moment, the task of governing the countries of Europe is no easy one, the old restraints and prejudices are destroyed, kings of the continents themselves have rent that veil of separation, which the orientals wisely spread before their monarch, and behind which they might long

have remained like idols of dark origin, and uncertain attributes, and have rashly produced themselves in all their littleness to the familiar gaze of their subjects. The spell is broken which bound men to reverence that which was ancient and established, whether it merited their reverence or not ; and force or religion, fear or conscience, alone remain, as the sole alternatives by which the multitude can be kept within the bounds of submission. Governments which heretofore have not been very favourable to conscience, as if it established an *imperium in imperio*, set limits to their jurisdiction, and asserted an appeal to a higher power, may now be expected to be more favourable to religion, as the only balm which can soften the asperity of political rancour, and allay the feverish and passionate excitement after political change, which the present circumstances of Europe are widely extending. In this country, which has already undergone, we may trust, all the violent changes it was fated to encounter, and where the government accommodates itself at length, though at times somewhat tardily and reluctantly, to the general will of the nation, the increasing intelligence of society has operated most beneficially upon the ruling powers, who have undergone a manifest alteration for the better during the last twenty years, and still more evidently during the two or three years which have immediately past. But if the tories have amazingly improved in liberality and intelligence since the days when they first received their denomination,

the whigs have not been equally fortunate, though they too have greatly changed from the illustrious men who first bore that name of reproach and renown. The cause of liberty has ever been unfortunate in the miscellaneous collection of its followers, who, using the same names for very different purposes, arrange themselves under her standard. The profession of public virtue has ever been a comfortable cloak for private vices; and licence and liberty have too often been united in the profession and practice of the same men. In the revolution of 1688, the true whigs had the misfortune to have their numbers augmented by a wretched accession of libertines and infidels; and the cause for which Addison wrote and lived was polluted by the pen of such an advocate as Toland.—“The good die first.”—The Tolands have prospered and multiplied. Can as much be said for the Addisons? “Eating and drinking,” says Berkeley, “modern patriotism, and the chief proof of patriotism, which many lovers of their country have to produce, is their attending at an anniversary feast, where they promote the cause of freedom by sneers against the Bible Society; and while they overturn virtue and religion, the two props on which liberty rests, as far as they are able, by their lives, and by their discourses, they think that all is well, and that mankind are their debtors, since they give to the cause of humanity the poor requital of their bumpers and vociferations. An opposition however is of less consequence to this country now that the

nation watches over its own rights, and is fast escaping from a state of tutelage; and the vacillating opinions of a party, ever ready to veer where the interests of a faction incline, will give way to solid views of general advantage, as comprehensive as the interests of the public, and deeply seated in the breast of the nation."

REVOLUTION IN OPINION.

VI. Even were governments not improved, they must change and adapt themselves to the change in opinion;—the greatest despotisms are forced to recede when they encounter the national sentiments, or come into concussion with long established usages; and opinion, in one shape or another, is that by which all governments are modelled or upheld.—As public opinion is debased by ignorance, or enlightened by knowledge, enfeebled by vice, or strengthened by moral principle, nations rise or sink in the scale of freedom, and every accession of science and virtue has a tendency to render men more free. If this is not more obvious, it is owing to the slow ripening of moral results, and to the tardier process of actions and their consequences on a great scale, and in the history of nations, where it is ever true, that one generation sows and another reaps. The revolution which has at present taken place in opinion, will inevitably, though perhaps slowly, produce correspondent alterations in the condition of society; and when the minds

of men are sufficiently prepared, a new social arrangement will take the place of the other modifications of Society which had preceded it, and fill the world with new institutions, as different from those which prevailed in the kingdoms of modern Europe, as the institutions of the latter differed from those of the ancient republics of Greece and Italy.

CLASSIC REPUBLICS.

VII. Machiavel was the first to perceive, and rightly to denote, the differences between the governments which prevailed in his time and those ancient republics which filled the world with their renown, and subdued it with their arms. And, while he justly distinguished all the political institutions that have attained to eminence into two great divisions—the ancient and the modern, the classic and the gothic, he justly gave a preference to the former, as the most perfect and illustrious. It is this distinction which alone accounts for the diversified and opposite schemes of policy which he has proposed in his two great political works. In his wonderful commentary upon Livy he unveiled the secret of the prosperity and aggrandizement of the Romans. To complete the exposition of polity, he presented, in his prince, the reverse of the picture, in the gothic government, such as it prevailed in his own days in the small principalities of Italy. It is neither a satire, nor an eulogy; it is the completion of a great design, which, in two works, embraces the description of the two forms which

states had, to his day, assumed, with a decided preference, on the part of the author, for the ancient mode of government, but tempered with the indifference which a thorough-paced Atheist entertained for morality, and marked with an unqualified admiration for power in all its forms—the sole idol that remains in a world where a deity is disbelieved. Machiavel might justly be charged with undervaluing the Gothic form of government, when compared to the classic; Harrington understood it better and undervalued it less; Sismondi has drawn a brief but correct contrast between them, and appears to have given to both their peculiar merits and comparative value. Without entering upon ground which has already been so well traversed, it is sufficient to point out the origin of their difference without enumerating its minute details. The point where the civilization of the ancients commenced was the foundation of a city; the point whence the civilization of the Gothic race commenced was their sallying from the woods of Germany, and their taking possession of a large portion of the Roman empire. From this difference in their original position, the diversities of their manners, their institutions, and their history, may be traced. With the Greeks, the city was every thing, and the individual members of it were nothing.—As the foundation of it, so its subsequent prosperity was the fundamental object to which all interests were subordinate, and all private advantage was postponed. The city was not only supreme in their

thoughts, but personified in their imaginations. To her rights, as the common mother of them all, the rights of the citizens in their private capacity readily gave way, and acts of the grossest injustice were easily glossed over by a pretext of public good ; and the selfishness of each citizen, as well as his sense of justice, was at times almost obliterated, in his high-wrought devotion to his country, which equally set aside private advantage and private morality.

GOTHIC KINGDOMS.

VIII. The gothic regimen was a retention of the freedom of the woods among the conquerors, mixed with military superiority towards the vanquished. As their union was voluntary before they proceeded to conquest, and as their rank was unequal, they possessed, by compact, mutual rights, attended with an inequality of privileges proportioned to the inequality of their means and resources for the expedition they were about to undertake. From this original distinction of ranks, the nation was never considered as a whole ; the classes of which it was made up were alone regarded. The privileges of particular bodies were respected, but the general interest was forgotten, or at least was postponed, till every particular interest was secured. From this source many of the anomalies in the policy of later times have proceeded, and that inverse method of legislation has taken its rise, which provides for the benefit of parts at the expense of the whole,

and which has ever been inclined to consider the nation as without a civil existence till it was separated into classes and endowed with privileges. But this system, though far inferior to the classic polity, in the general regulation of the state, and in the means of promoting its aggrandizement, excels the republics of old as much on the one hand, in personal security and private happiness. The rights of individuals have been respected, the property and lives of the citizens have been better guarded, and fewer victims have been offered to the pretended necessity of the state. The ancient governments were more powerful and energetic in proportion to their extent; but they wanted that personal freedom which the gothic tribes brought from their woods and secured to their descendants.

UNIVERSAL FORM.

IX. As the ancient form of government was founded upon the general notion of a community, and the gothic upon the privileges annexed to different ranks, so a new and universal form of civil institutions is arising, founded not upon the circumstances of a particular period of society, but upon the common nature of man and the general end of government. The gothic kingdoms, having undergone the changes that from their first constitution, awaited them, and fulfilled the period prescribed to them, are approaching, by a slow decay, to a gradual but certain dissolution. Their constituent elements are in the act of decomposition, and are prepared to

unite in new combinations, and to enter into other forms. The gothic aristocracy is but the shadow of its former power ; the kings and the people alike occupy a different place from their early position ; the spirit of the age has changed, and nothing remains the same but the institutions and outward form of society, which vainly expect permanence while all are shifting around them. A warfare has already begun between the past and the present and every country of the continent contains within itself a party hostile to its establishments, whose numbers gain fresh accessions, and their opinions new weight, with every succeeding year. The spirit of the times is not democratical ; it differs equally from the republican ardour of the ancients, as from the wild independence of the german race ; nor is it unfavourable to kings, considered as the chief representatives of the nation, though it opposes the separate interests of classes considered as distinct from the general welfare, it justly determines, that the general utility is the sole end of government, as it is the sole end that can unite the co-operation of reasonable and voluntary agents, and that the only just form of society is where the common weal is provided for by the common will.

PUBLIC OPINION.

X. This gradual change in the ground-work of society is undermining all the obstacles which force and superstition have opposed to the progress of true religion. The kings who lent their aid to

support a spiritual thralldom are shaken upon their thrones, by the civil earthquakes which are about to pass from country to country ; and their whole care, and their remaining power, must be put forth to delay the evil day of retribution. The attention of kings is thus distracted from so systematic an attempt as they exerted at the reformation, to put down religious truth ; and public opinion, on the other hand, has become decidedly tolerant, and puts some restraint on those harsh and sanguinary measures, even the readiest arguments which force and tyranny are inclined to use. Thus the action of the general mind is removing every impediment which has hitherto retarded the progress of social advancement and the dissemination of truth, and is preparing the way, by levelling every obstruction, for the messengers who will proclaim to every country the spiritual advent of the King of Peace and Righteousness. The minds of men, restless and dissatisfied with their present condition, suffer no hidden recesses to remain unexplored, but all pretensions are questioned, and every claim is investigated. Inquiry, by its ceaseless and corrosive action, is wearing away those fetters of the mind, which kept its faculties dormant, and limited the range of its powers ; and men, enlarged into a new and unexpected liberty, and suddenly released from their former and fictitious bonds, and no longer suffering the same restraints to confine them, must depend solely hereafter for their right self-government on the directions which reason and religion afford

them; and the admonitions of conscience must supply the vacancy which is occasioned by the removal of their imaginary terrors. Thus the general changes which are inevitably taking place in the moral world, conspire to undermine or overthrow those barriers which have hindered the progress of religion, and the silent alterations of society, no less than the efforts of individuals, are hastening the period when the triumph of truth shall be permanent and universal.

EUROPE.

XI. Throughout Europe there is no less a revolution in the relative position of the nations towards each other than in the interior condition of each. The French and the Russians have changed situations in the political scale; Petersburg has become the centre of aggression, and Paris that of resistance and defence. The invasions which Europe has now to dread are from the north, and the hope of its ultimate freedom rests upon the energy and the prosperity of its southern states. The position of Russia is eminently favourable for successful and limitless encroachment, and possesses within itself ample space for ever-increasing numbers. It has no enemy behind it to distract its attention or divide its efforts; it has only opposed to it a weak and broken frontier, without any one commanding defence, and with vulnerable points innumerable from the Baltic to the sea of Japan. The Swedes, the Poles, the Turks, the Persians, the Turcomans,

and the Chinese, are unable to cope with the Russian armies, and must yield at the first shock of the invader. Austria and Prussia hold their Polish provinces, in some measure, at the mercy of Russia, and France is the only nation which, single-handed, could afford an adequate resistance. As France has changed from the attitude of aggression to that of defence, England, the supporter of the independence of the continental nations, becomes the natural ally of France instead of being its "natural enemy;" and henceforth it is manifestly the interest of this country that the French should be great, powerful, and free. It is certainly for the advantage of England, that the seat of aggrandisement and danger should be removed from the banks of the Seine to the shores of the Baltic; and an Attila, whose troops are encamped in Poland, and along the frontiers of China, is less to be dreaded than an enemy of inferior power, who has the occupation of Boulogne and Brest. The wide separation between Russia and England leaves no adjacent field of combat on which they might measure their forces and decide the contest; and England, it is now evident, can best preserve the independence and prosperity of Europe by preserving peace; and her surest weapon is the communication of her own knowledge and liberty; before which, barbarism, however potent, must bow, and stirred up by which, vassals, however depressed, will rise up and shake off the yoke. While Britain counterbalances the ascendancy of Russia in the

west, she will divide with her the supremacy of the east, and have for her share the fairest, if not the most extensive portion of Asia. They are the two great antagonist powers in the old world, opposite in their nature as in their influence—the one physically, the other morally great—the one at present retarding, the other accelerating the march of European society; but both ultimately destined to be the instruments of political changes which will give a new face to the institutions of the ancient Continent. As the balance of power is shifting among the nations that compose the European confederation, it is changing also in the component parts of each individual state; and the struggle for political liberty is begun which can only terminate with the general acquisition of free institutions. This tendency to freedom it is every way the interest of Britain to foster and protect. Despotic kings are truly her natural enemies, who must inevitably wish to destroy those institutions which are of so bad example to their own subjects; and it is only from freemen, actuated by a similar spirit, that she can expect cordial sympathy and co-operation. (L.)

Freedom, which far more than doubles the force of states, derives a new value from the energy it would communicate to the nations, in resisting the attacks of every aggressor; and the new life and additional permanency it would infuse into the states of the Continent, who require every aid, in their present circumstances, and every amelioration in

their condition, to enable them to resist the pressure which they must soon feel, from the vicinity and the growth of the Russian empire.

AMERICA.

XII. If the fate of Europe were different from the expectations that are formed of its rising prosperity, and if its free and civilized states should fall before a new irruption of barbarians, America would soon fill up the blank, and take the lead in the advancement of society. The enlightened and the brave of the old world would withdraw from the slavery of their native lands, and with the same ardour, on another side of the globe, would follow the pursuit of truth, and enlarge the boundaries of science. America, no longer receiving the supplies of knowledge from abroad, would commence an original literature, and, beginning where the Europeans had ended, would enter a fresh career of improvement, and explore new riches of mind. In less than twenty five years the American States double their population, and more than double their resources ; and their influence, which is even now felt in Europe, will every year exert a wider sway over the minds of men, and hold out to them a more illustrious example of prosperity and freedom. In little more than a century the United States of America must contain a population ten times greater than has ever yet been animated by the spirit and energy of a free government ; and in less than a century and a half the new world will not be able

to contain its inhabitants, but will pour them forth, straitened by their overflowing numbers at home, upon the shores of less civilized nations, till the whole earth is subdued to knowledge, and filled with the abodes of free and civilized men. But the spirit and the imitation of American freedom will spread still more rapidly and widely than its power. No force can crush the sympathy that already exists, and is continually augmenting, between Europe and the new world. The eyes of the oppressed are even now turning wistfully to the land of freedom, and the kings of the continent already regard with awe and disquietude the new Rome rising in the west, the fore-shadows of whose greatness, yet to be, are extending dark and heavy over their dominions, and obscuring the lustre of their thrones.

UNIVERSAL PREVALENCE OF RELIGION AND KNOWLEDGE.

XIII. If one source of future prosperity is dried up, another is ready to break forth, and amidst the variety of events, a great moral improvement is secured to mankind. Either Europeans or their descendants must spread over the globe, and carry with them their arts and their opinions, changing the moral aspect of the world, and introducing everywhere a new manner of life, a new philosophy, and a new religion. The dark and unvisited regions of the earth must become open and traversed. Mankind, as they have one common interest, will

have one common mind. The same opinions will circulate throughout, and the same convictions will ultimately prevail. All other creeds will give way in the natural course of events, and christianity, considered merely as a system of human opinion, must be expected to become universal, since it is the only religious system adapted to the improved condition of humanity ; and the earth will become one family, forsaking their errors and their idols, and worshipping one common father. There was a greater disproportion between the resources of the first christians, and their success in changing the moral condition of the Roman empire, than there is at present between the means which christians now possess and the universal conversion of the world. Nothing is wanting but the will, and the energy, and the intelligence, which would enable them to keep the same object ever in view, and to choose the path that would most certainly lead to it. Society, independently of human volition, is preparing itself for a great transition ; the many wheels of its intricate mechanism are beginning to revolve, and a complicated movement continually accelerated by fresh impulses, is bearing along the world from its wintry and torpid position, and bringing it under the influence of serener heavens and an awakening spring. All the genial powers of nature will be unlocked, and the better feelings that have long slumbered in the breast of man will be roused to life. True benevolence will come in the train of genuine christianity ; and mankind, in promoting

the welfare of each other, will find that happiness which has long escaped them. Evil, though it can never be entirely eradicated from human nature on this side of death, will yet be repressed in all its manifestations as soon as it presents itself, and the thoughts and endeavours of all will tend to heal the inevitable ills which flesh is heir to. Then will be the harvest of the moral world ; and the seed of noble thoughts and deeds that once seemed lost, shall suddenly shoot forth, and ripen to maturity, and the success of wrong even in this world shall seem brief compared with the long ages that shall crown the efforts of wisdom and virtue. (M.)

NOTES.

NOTE A. *Page 9.*

THE peculiar tenet of the school of Turgot, which embraces among its disciples, Condorcet and Madame de Stael, is what they term the indefinite perfectability of human nature; by which they imply its constant and necessary improvement. But as the situation of the world at present, and the records of history, are not altogether favourable to this opinion, they have adopted a theory by which these opposite appearances may be reconciled with their system. To account for the slow progress which mankind have made under the influence of this constantly propelling power, by which they are supposed to be borne along, they have recourse to the savage state, in its rudest forms, as the original condition of mankind; and from this point of extreme depression, they are enabled to mark a considerable extent of ascent to the position which they now occupy. The Greeks are rather in the way of this theory, and the eminence which they attained in the arts by no means pleases them. These attainments they depreciate, and consider them, with Madame de Stael, merely as the seeds of civilization, which the winds were to scatter, and which

were to produce a harvest in distant countries. The dark ages are a still greater difficulty; but Turgot discovered that the human mind developed a force in the study of the scholastic dialectics, which it could have acquired in no other pursuit—a supposition which would be more plausible if those who took the lead at the revival of letters, or at the reformation, had been much versant in the scholastic theology; but the reverse was the case; the reformers, and the restorers of letters, were the despisers of the schoolmen; and the subtlety, and the tension of mind, which is acquired in solving the enigmas of ontology, are the opposites of those mental habits which conduce to the detection of error, or the discovery of truth. Kings and priests, according to this theory, are the two evil powers, from whose malign influence has arisen every disaster that has befallen humanity, or every delay that has retarded its progress. They are like the old man of the sea upon the back of Sinbad; but the press is about to do the same good office for mankind that the juice of the grape did for the Arabian mariner. Kings and priests will speedily lose their hold of their victim; and the mind, freed from every impediment by the French revolution, will hold on its course, exempted from every obstacle which might in future retard its speed. A sort of natural immortality is promised by Condorcet in lieu of that real immortality which his scepticism denied ever to be the inheritance of man, and an indefinite extension of life is prognosticated from the improvement of medicine, which will make death a very remote evil, and almost beyond the bound of arithmetical calculation,—to those who have the good fortune of being born after an indefinite series of ages. This prophecy, which assures an indefinite life to those who are born in an indefinite futurity, can certainly receive no definite contradiction from events, and is much safer than foretelling the consequences of the French revolution; but the ignorance which it displays, of reasoning, and of me-

dicine, of facts, and of the rules of philosophical investigation, sufficiently shows, that it is not for want of an ample share of credulity that men are unbelievers; but since the disappointment and shock of the French revolution, these are not the prevalent errors, and men are more disposed to conclude, that "The thing that has been is the thing that shall be."

NOTE B. *Page 9.*

All the dreams of the darkest and rudest ages have their counterparts, and even their caricatures, in the philosophy of the transcendentalists. In their reasonings they have reproduced the mistakes of the earliest ages: it may be said with truth, though it be a paradox, that the schoolmen, the dark writers of the dark ages, throw light upon the philosophical writings of Germany; they admire what the rest of the world have rejected, and, in their backward progress, revert to the ancient standards, and replace the idols which have been forsaken. Spinoza is thought an accomplished philosopher, Thomas Aquinas an undoubted authority. The rational divines of Germany have got rid of every thing supernatural in the bible, by the easy belief, that all the miracles there recorded happened quite naturally in the ordinary course of events, while the philosophic Theists are divided in opinion, whether to admit the existence of the deity upon the hypothesis of Kant, who left a blank space for him in his theory, or on the promise of Fichté, who pledged himself to create him in his next lecture, or on the prediction of Schelling, who, though he doubted that Fichté was as good as his word, nevertheless pointed out the time when the deity would begin to exist.

NOTE C. Page 10.

Etymology has been an *ignis fatuus* to all who have engaged in it. First came those who, on the strength of disjointed syllables, managed to trace all terms to Hebrew roots, and to derive every thing from the Jews. Another description of learned men, Celt or Goth, traced the origin of every distinguished race, and every improvement, to their own favoured stock, from which, as a common centre, had emanated whatever was illustrious or remarkable. Bryant took a higher flight, and despoiled all these of their titles and pretensions in favour of a race who existed in his own imagination, and to whom he very appropriately assigned an imaginary language. Professor Murray is quite aware of the mistakes of Bryant, and justly reprehends him as one who has adulterated the vestiges of ancient history and language; yet he himself, with his great powers, has not been able to escape the easily-besetting error of etymologists, but has been more extravagant than all his predecessors in the supposition of a tribe, the parent of the Celts, Goths, Greeks, Sarmatians, Persians, and Indians, all whose parts of speech were reduced to the solitary word *Ag*, from which single monosyllable he deduces the languages of one-third of the globe, with wonderfully great ingenuity, and wonderfully little sense. As poverty is the mother of invention, this single and simple sound of *Ag*, which, to let his readers a little into his meaning, is nearly synonymous, if not quite identical, with that of *wag*, was soon enriched by the kindred sounds of *bag* or *bwag*, "of which *fag* and *pag* are softer varieties;" and 3dly, "with *dwag*, which signifies a violent blow, and *gwag*, which signifies a quick, tottering, unequal impulse, and *lag*, which denotes a pliant slap, and *mag*, which signifies compression, and *nag*, a crushing power, and *rag*, a penetrating power, and *swag*, which signifies to move with

a weighty and strong impulse, whence our swagger." "These nine words," says Professor Murray, "are the foundations of language, on which an edifice has been erected of a more useful and wonderful kind, than any which have exercised human ingenuity."

Notwithstanding this portentous instance of etymological delirium, Professor Murray's book throws strong additional light on the affinities between the languages of the east and west, and affords several probable explanations from the Gothic dialects, of abstract terms in all the languages from the Celtic to the Sanscrit—explanations which these languages themselves did not so readily furnish; thus demonstrating, in the most cogent manner, their common origin, and their kindred processes of improvement and thought. Still it is evident that etymology, to be followed to purpose, must be pursued in quite a different manner; and that all generalizing theories respecting the origin of speech must be very cautiously investigated, till we are better acquainted with the processes by which languages are changed, by analyzing the combination, and settling the philosophy, of those modern languages with which we are best acquainted. The whole of language, in all its component sounds, is so plastic and mutable, and each change has such a tendency to induce new changes, that words yield small resistance to whoever would accommodate them to his own theory; and, having determined what conclusions we wish to arrive at, we shall soon find an easy theory to convey us. But the study of the philosophy and the history of languages is indeed a difficult pursuit, which requires the co-operation of many minds, and the investigation and restraint of the severest criticism; yet, doubtless, in time these difficulties will be overcome by numbers and perseverance, and languages will be traced throughout the changes which they have undergone, and amid the diversities which they now present, to the simplicity and rudiments of their common origin.

NOTE D. *Page 10.*

Nations exist long before they feel the want of a national history, and when that want is attempted to be supplied, the materials have perished or are deficient. In the absence of a just chronology, for what rude tribe ever kept correct dates? they form imaginary periods, into which they divide their history, corresponding to the cycles of their computation of times. To fill up these periods they collect the lists of the petty kings who have reigned over neighbouring districts in the rude ages of their political existence, as in the case of the dynasties of Egypt; and to present something more than a barren catalogue, the remains of popular poetry, or popular tradition, are inserted, to give some colour of life and action to the roll of forgotten names. Such is the account of the robbery of Rhemphis by the sons of the architect of his treasury, and such the story of the method by which the daughter of Cheops built a pyramid; which savour strongly of their origin and preservation among the mob of Memphis and Thebes of the hundred gates.

It is thus that, in the national annals, instead of finding the general stream of history, we meet with the details of Border warfare, preserved amid the oblivion of the great contests of the empire, and local incidents and wonders instead of an account of the monuments of the nation at large. In the history of Persia, instead of the contests of the Medes and Persians with the empire of Nineveh and Babylon, their temporary subjection and subsequent superiority, we have the wars of Iran and Touran, the contests of the frontier province of Chorassan with the Pastoral borderers and plunderers of the Turcoman race. The exploits of Rustam, the imaginary hero of the remote and insulated province of Sigistan, are more celebrated than the achievements of those who extended the dominion of

Persia to the Propontis; and the wonders of Persepolis and Suza are concealed in remote antiquity, or ascribed to the labours of the genii, while the progress of fire worship is traced with particularity in the northern and remote province of Aderbijan. The early history of nations is thus formed of ill-connected fragments, which, if not entirely fabulous in their first origin, have become entirely erroneous in their application; and researches into the chronology of most nations would probably reduce their pretensions to narrower limits, and show how recent is the era of correct narrative, though gleams of truth gradually increase upon the darkness from a very distant period.

NOTE E. Page 18.

The high antiquity of the Hindoos has received an additional shock from some very ingenious observations of Professor Murray: "No nation can be supposed to make very great progress in knowledge without writing. Now, it is a fact, established by the publication of the Greek and Roman Notae, that the Indian cyphers are of European invention, being abbreviations of the names of numbers in the Greek language; that we receive them from the Arabs is a secondary consideration; they originally made their way into India from Europe; further, it is certain from ocular examination, that the Sanscrit character is derived from the Chaldee. Though the various alphabets of the nations of Asia have led some to imagine that they have been invented without assistance from the Phœnicians, it now appears evidently, that alphabetical writing rose from the Phœnicians, and in its eastern course, settled early at Babylon, from which it proceeded into India." (Murray's *History of Languages*, vol. ii. p. 226.)

The identity of the two literatures Murray has shown at considerable length, and, though the evidence in such mat-

ters is seldom so strong as not to admit of considerable doubt, it is stronger than any of the advocates of the opposite side of the question have been able to adduce for the antiquity of Hindoo literature; and the consideration of the whole subject adds another presumption in favour of Chaldea being the centre both of population and of knowledge. The particular branches of study which the Chaldeans cultivated, and the proficiency which the Hindoos attained in the very same studies, with the marks of their having received them from an earlier nation; the Hindoo philosophy, which is an advanced stage of the Chaldaic; and the gradual change of language from the borders of Chaldea to Hindostan, which is shaded off without any abrupt break, lead to the conclusion that, though the learning of Chaldea and India might both, in a considerable measure, be spontaneous and original, yet, that the latter was not without its obligations to the earlier and more advanced progress of the former.

NOTE F. *Page 23.*

In writing the paragraph to which this note refers, the following sentence of Hume had escaped my recollection. It expresses exactly the same opinion with respect to the advantageous situation of Greece, though the variety of results that issued from that situation are not deduced.—“If we consider the face of the globe, Europe of all the four parts of the world, is the most broken by seas, rivers, and mountains, and Greece of all countries of Europe. Hence these regions were naturally divided into several distinct governments: and hence the sciences arose in Greece; and Europe has been hitherto the most constant habitation of them.” The rest of the essay, though containing several ingenious observations, is by no means on a level with this sentence. “My first observation is, that it is im-

possible for the arts and sciences to arise at first among any people, unless that people enjoy the blessings of a free government." Notwithstanding this assertion of impossibility, the arts and sciences did arise among nations who never enjoyed the blessings of a free government, namely, among the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Hindoos. "Greece," Hume well observes, "was a cluster of little principalities, which soon became republics; and being united, both by their near neighbourhood, and by the ties of the same language and interest, they entered into the closest intercourse of commerce and learning. There concurred a happy climate, a soil not unfertile, and a most harmonious and comprehensive language; so that every circumstance among that people seemed to favour the rise of the arts and sciences. Each city produced its several artists and philosophers, who refused to yield the preference to those of the neighbouring republics." In this statement, too little pre-eminence is assigned to Athens, which alone was hospitable to famous wits, though other cities might produce them; and Sparta and Thebes, which were under the influence of the same general and favourable circumstances, did not exhibit the effects which are here calculated upon as flowing from them: but Athens, while it was the light of Greece, cast a dimness by comparison over the other Grecian cities, and at once drew to it the talents of the rest of Greece, and by the display of its unrivalled attainments, precluded the hopes of competition, and the efforts of emulation.

NOTE G. *Page 41.*

After a correct estimate has been formed of the value of Arabian literature by Gibbon, a more exaggerated one, apparently suggested by the work of Andes' on Universal Literature, has gained ground, and been adopted by Ginguéné and Sismondi. This brilliant view of the advance-

ment of the Saracens, is founded chiefly on the titles of their works, and of the multitude of their productions, and if quantity always insured quality, is no doubt a very just one. But we must beware of giving too much credit to Arabic denominations, and not suppose that a treatise which takes the designation of the ocean of light, or the pearl of intelligence, is altogether equal to its title; or that the loads of volumes, under which a train of camels bowed down, were all filled with intellectual riches, the loss of which impoverished the human race. Still the imagination of what we have lost has given rise to so much eloquence in M. Sismondi, that, borne away by his oratory, we are loth to take to ourselves the consolation which the Spanish preacher addressed to his audience: "Be not so much cast down, my friends; perhaps what I am saying is not all true."

"Les plus tristes Réflexions s'attachent à cette longue énumération des noms inconnus pour nous, et qui cependant furent illustres; d'ouvrages ensevelis en manuscrit dans quelques bibliothèques poudreuses, et qui cependant influèrent puissamment pendant un temps sur la culture de l'esprit humain. Que reste-t-il de tant de gloire? Cinq ou six hommes seulement sont à portée de visiter les trésors de manuscrits Arabes, renfermés à la bibliothèque de l'Escorial; quelques centaines d'hommes encore, disséminés dans toute l'Europe, se sont mis en état, par un travail opiniâtre, de fouiller dans les mines de l'orient; mais ceux-là n'obtiennent que péniblement quelques manuscrits rares et obscurs, et ils ne peuvent s'élever assez haut pour juger toute la littérature, dont ils n'atteignent jamais qu'une partie.—Cependant les vastes Régions, où dominait et où domine encore l'Islamisme, sont mortes pour toutes les Sciences. Ces riches campagnes de Fez et de Maroc, illustrées il y a cinq siècles par tant d'Académies, tant d'Universités, tant de bibliothèques, ne sont plus que des déserts de sable brulant que des tyrans disputent à des tigres; tout le riant et

féconde ravage de la Mauritanie, où le commerce, les arts, et l'agriculture s'étaient élevés à la plus haute prospérité, sont aujourd'hui des retraites de corsaires, qui répandent la terreur sur les mers, et qui se délassent de leurs travaux dans de honteuses débauches, jusqu'à ce que la peste vienne chaque année marquer parmi eux des victimes, et venger l'humanité offensée. L'Égypte est peu à peu engloutie par les Sables qu'elle fertilisait autrefois; la Syrie la Palestine sont désolées par des Bedouins errans, moins redoutables encore que le Pacha qui les opprime. Bagdad, autrefois le séjour du luxe, de la puissance, et du savoir, est ruinée; les universités si célèbres de Cufa et de Bassora sont fermées; celles de Samarcande et de Balkh sont également détruites. Dans cette immense étendue de pays, deux ou trois fois plus grande que notre Europe, on ne trouve plus qu'ignorance, qu'esclavage, que terreur, et que mort. Peu d'hommes sont en état de lire quelques-uns des écrits de leurs illustres ancêtres; peu d'hommes pourraient les comprendre; aucun n'est à portée de se les procurer.— Cette immense richesse littéraire des Arabes que nous n'avons fait qu'entrevoir, n'existe plus dans aucun des Pays où les Arabes et les Musulmans dominent. Ce n'est plus là qu'il faut chercher ni la renommée de leurs grands hommes, ni leurs écrits. Ce qui s'en est sauvé est tout entier entre les mains de leurs ennemis, dans les couvens des moines, et les bibliothèques des Rois de l'Europe. Et cependant ces vastes contrées n'ont point été conquises; ce n'est point l'étranger qui les a dépouillées de leurs richesses, qui a anéanti leur population, qui a détruit leurs lois, leurs mœurs, et leur esprit national. Le poison était au dedans d'elles, il s'est développé par lui-même, et il a tout anéanti.

Qui sait si, dans quelques siècles, cette même Europe, où le règne des lettres et des sciences est aujourd'hui transporté, qui brille d'un si grand éclat, qui juge si bien les temps passés, qui compare si bien le règne successif des

littératures et des mœurs antiques, ne sera pas déserte et sauvage comme les collines de la Mauritanie, les sables de l'Egypte, et les vallées de l'Anatolie? Qui sait si, dans un pays entièrement neuf, peut-être dans les hautes contrées d'où découle l'Orénoque, et le fleuve des Amazones, peut-être dans cette enceinte jusqu'à ce jour impénétrable des montagnes de la Nouvelle Hollande, il ne se formera pas des peuples avec d'autres mœurs, d'autres langues, d'autres pensées, d'autres religions, des peuples qui renouvelleront encore une fois la race humaine, qui étudieront comme nous les temps passés, et qui, voyant avec étonnement que nous avons existé, que nous avons su ce qu'ils sauront, que nous avons cru comme eux à la durée et à la gloire, plaindront nos impuissans efforts, et rappelleront les noms des Newton, des Racine, des Tasse, comme exemple de cette vaine lutte de l'homme pour atteindre une immortalité de renommée que la destinée lui refuse."

The literature of the Arabs never reached the eminence which is here supposed; and the causes of its decay can have no effect upon the literature of Europe. Arabian learning rose and fell with the caliphs; but since European literature does not depend upon the patronage of another Almamoun and Haroun Alraschid, the works of Averroes and of Avicenna may remain neglected, without entailing the same fate upon Newton and Racine and Tasso; we must hope that the springs of the Orinoco, of the Amazons, and the mountains of New Holland, will possess sages and historians, without having to wait till Europe has become as desert and savage as the hills of Mauritania, the sands of Egypt, and the valleys of Anatolia.

The writings of the Arabians are naturally divided into the imaginative and the philosophical; the first of native growth, the second of foreign translation. In the latter, they are but the disciples and copyists of the Greeks.—They superadded few additional excellencies, and they lost many of the peculiar merits of their masters, by the double

transfusion which the Greek writings suffered before they were intelligible to the sages whom the Caliphs collected round them. Their works of imagination belong to two periods; and consist of the poetry that was anterior to Mahomet, and the tales that were posterior to the splendours of the Califat. The poetry is the most vivid, and the most freshly taken from nature, that exists in the east; it breathes of the life of the desert. The Arabian tales are still superior; and yield, in brilliancy of imagination, to the genius of the Greeks alone. They paint the cities of the east as the Arabian poetry does its deserts; the orientals are placed before the eyes in all their indolence and voluptuousness; and the manners of the Mahometan countries, from the infidels of China and Hindostan to the statue on the Fortunate Islands, which stretched out its hand as if to a new world, beyond the ocean of darkness; are displayed in all the soft light of imagination, and of antiquity, with the religions of many ancient nations preserved in the form and semblance of magic and superstition. As to the inventions of gunpowder, &c. which M. Sismondi in one place attributes to them; in another sentence he more justly speaks of them not as inventions, but introductions, brought from the remotest east, and which the Arabians rather transmitted than profited by them.

NOTE H. *Page 152.*

The commercial influence of Britain, and the various resources which it affords for the promotion of religion and science, would of itself require a peculiar work, if the treatise were in any degree proportioned to the extent and variety of the subjects which would naturally fall under its review. British merchants have access to every country; and, from the nature of their pursuits, are led to a wide acquaintance with their physical and moral condition. Their

agents are everywhere unsuspected and honoured; the communication between them and their principals is uninterrupted; and an unbroken chain of action is maintained, by which whatever distinguishes England in morals, or knowledge, may be conveyed into the most distant countries, and their inhabitants may be made partakers of all its attainments, whether civil or religious. The benefits which prophecy foretells were to be conferred by a maritime people, upon the cause, and in the advancement of religion, were without doubt partially accomplished by the advantages which the Jews derived from the Tyrians.— But as the Jewish was but the shadow of the christian church, so the aid which the Phœnicians could bestow, was but a faint emblem of the assistance which will be rendered by navigation in the latter days; and the wealth which will flow in from commerce will be rendered back in part, and be spent in the diffusion of truth, as a tribute offered up from all lands to the God of the whole earth.

It were highly to be wished that Mr. Angus should find many assistants in carrying his large and enlightened plans into effect; but if only ten could be found who were like-minded, we might hail the commencement of their operations as the beginning of better days, and look forward to the merchants of Britain and America as those who shall have an eminent part in the glorious work of evangelizing the world.

NOTE I. *Page 228.*

The only way to effect any great object is, to accelerate the train of events which have a natural tendency to produce it; and the effectual method of liberating the enslaved blacks in America, is that which is pointed out by the great changes which are coming over human affairs. The principle which is ultimately destructive of slavery is this, that

free labour is more valuable than the labour of slaves. In the constitution of man, fear is a deterring, but not naturally an impelling motive ; it is hope alone that animates and urges forward. Again, it is not the strength, but the intelligence of man which confers its chief value on his exertions ; but the slave-holder is compelled to deteriorate his labourers by brutalizing them—for the intelligence which would make them valuable would also make them free. Thus, whenever a fair competition arises between free and slave labour, the slave-holder must, in the end, be driven out of the market ; and it is only by monopoly that the slave system can be maintained. In those changes, then which are spreading over the globe, and which, by bringing its extremes into commercial intercourse, are about to destroy all monopolies, we possess the true principles of enfranchisement, which will knock off every fetter, and will suffer the earth only to be productively tilled by willing hands. Time has more than accomplished the prediction of Seneca, in disclosing the recesses of the world ; it is bringing them into contact ; each part is affected by each, and every change circulates through the whole. Sugar and slavery were thought concomitants, and slavery certainly depends upon the monopoly of sugar ; but the West Indian islands will form but specks in the quantity of ground brought under sugar cultivation, which is about to spread itself over South America, and South-Eastern Asia, and the tropical islands of the ocean. The first step in order to liberate the negroes of the West Indies is, the bringing the sugars of other parts of the world into a fair market, and allowing them a free competition. This point, if perseveringly insisted on, must certainly be carried ; the English will not always suffer themselves to be taxed to support a system which the great body of the nation abhors ; while, on the other hand, we may hope that the planters will not always continue blind to their best interests, whenever the exasperation of the moment subsides ; or at least,

that some of them, in the christianizing and enfranchising of their slaves, will hold forth a happy and successful example that the way of duty is the way of profit, that there is no advantage attached to infringing the divine commands, and that cruelty and injustice incur the charge of folly as well as of guilt.

NOTE K. *Page 269.*

In the case of works of beneficence men suddenly pass from one extreme to another, and change from an indifference to the end, into an impatience at the length of the way which leads to it, and are desirous of over-leaping the intermediate process which is necessary to a successful result. There is a succession of steps to be gained. The latent benevolence of individuals must be roused from its torpid state by those wants which it is desirable should be relieved, being strongly and variously brought before them. The film must be removed which use and habit spread before the mental vision, and which make it less sensible of the presence of evils which have long been familiar to it. The second step is, to point out the means by which the evils may be removed, and to make the antidote as evident as the disease, and thus to free the mind from that despair of deliverance which is but too apt to succeed to indifference. And though, if these points be gained, several assistants will be readily found willing to begin operations, yet a third requisite is still necessary in a responsible agent, to keep the scattered well-wishers united, and to give permanence to their proceedings.

NOTE L. *Page 291.*

A new source of influence accrues to England in the number of exiled patriots, whom the jealousy of their own governments forces to seek a refuge upon her shores. The continued contest between the rulers of Europe and their subjects must increase the number of fugitives; and the union between the different kings of the continent allows no resting-place to the weaker party, till the sea is interposed between their contention. If unsupported, these exiles must be brought within sight of that model of freedom they have sighed for, to starve. England, too, owes them a debt of gratitude, for the succours which her patriots received when exiled in foreign lands during the oppression of the Stuarts. They are unfortunate because they have anticipated the improvement of their country, and have lived too soon to enjoy freedom at home and in peace; they are the forlorn hope of the mighty host of freemen that will succeed them, they have both the glory and the sufferings of being exposed to the brunt of the onset. It is the privilege of England that they, who, by their sufferings are to benefit future generations, should acknowledge her as their benefactress. It would neither be politic nor just in her to interfere in the intestine disputes of foreign states; but to succour the oppressed, and to receive into a safe asylum all who seek her protection, is at once her interest and her duty—her present renown, and her future aggrandisement. Here the exiles from the continent might not only find a refuge, but a school of instruction, and might study those institutions, erected and in operation, which they have vainly wished for at home; and, in the intervals of their own moral warfare, they may witness the example of a people, whose long struggle for liberty has ended in its final acquisition, and who now repose under its shelter, and gather its fruits.

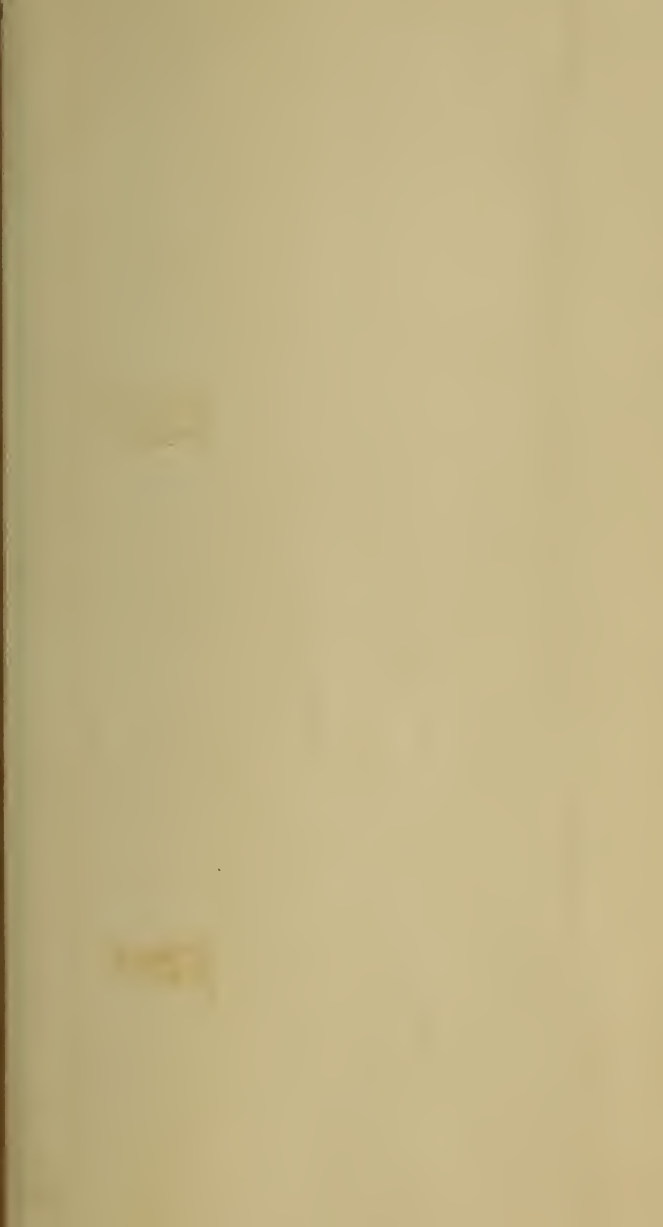
NOTE M. *Page 295.*

Christianity will become universal by a threefold influence—by the efforts of individuals, by the general disposition of the world, and by the agency of the divine influence. The first has been viewed in considerable detail ; the second has also been indicated, but more slightly, since it is placed beyond the reach of individuals ; and the third has been altogether omitted, and reserved for separate consideration.

The complicated nature of the subject, which embraces the proposal of every variety of human means, and yet imperatively demands a divine and supernatural aid, excuses, by the vastness of its extent, a partition of that which is human and that which is divine. The same means must be used for diffusing Christianity as for spreading any other system of truths ; but, in addition to these, it has the twofold support of the divine providence and the divine influence—the first, ordering all events to work together for its ultimate triumph, and the other disposing the heart to its reception. Whatever is successful has many coincident causes of success, and the failure of one source of prosperity is compensated by others ; and, in the inadequacy of any single means, and by the helplessness of each individual instrument, is evidenced the continual care of providence, in preparing beforehand various trains of events, and in combining them to effect a single purpose. Each of the influences above mentioned will have its share in the accomplishment of the great work. Individuals, though their efforts will increase, and be gradually better directed, will probably leave much undone ; their zeal will never be equal to their strength, nor their knowledge to their zeal. The great events about to take place, from the developement of society, both in Europe and in America, may, in some measure, supply their lack of service, and greatly contribute to advancing true religion, but doubtless will leave much room

for the immediate manifestation of a divine influence upon the minds of men, and a sudden success shall attend the cause of truth, as in the times of primitive Christianity, and during the reformation, when, like the first rumour of victory, the glad tidings of salvation spread on every side with incredible swiftness, and seemed to outstrip the messengers who were commissioned to proclaim them.

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